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# STORY OF KING UDAYANA

AS GLEANED FROM

SANSKRIT PALI & PRAKRIT SOURCES

BY

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# PREFACE

The popularity of the Udayana-lore with ancient Indian writers is vouchsafed by even such great ones as Kālidāsa and Śrīharṣa. Vatsarāja fulfils perfectly the requisite qualifications of a 'dhīrodātta nāyaka' as laid down by ancient rhetoricians. Unlike the nuclei of other ancient lores such as Rāmakathā and Kṛṣṇa-kathā, Udayana is known, beyond doubt, to have been a historical figure. His contemporaneity with Lord Buddha and thus his belonging to that politically vibrant era of ancient Indian history makes his personality all the more interesting. His importance to students of history as well as literature, therefore, cannot be denied.

I worked on Udayanakathā as a Govt. of India Humanities Research Scholar and was consequently awarded the D. Phil. Degree of the Allahabad University. The present work is the publication of my thesis of the same name.

There is another facet to the problem relating to the textual studies of the material available regarding this subject. But as that topic is an entirely different subject and is in itself an independent avenue of research, I have confined myself to sifting the material available and separating the facts of King Udayana's life from the fiction which has gathered round it. The present work may be helpful on some level for comparing the reconstruction made on the basis of the text.

Mere words cannot suffice for expressing my gratitude to Dr. B. R. SAKSENA, my guide as well as my father. Another of my revered teachers, Prof. K. CHATTOPADHYAYA rendered me invaluable help by his kind advice and also by lending me his personal copy of the rare 'Bṛhatkathā ślokasaṅgraha.' I would also avail myself of this opportunity to express my sincere gratitude to Dr. P. L. VAIDYA, Late Dr. V. S. AGRAWALA, Sri PRAHLAD PRADHAN, Sri NATHURAM PREMI, Dr. J. K. BALBIR and Prof. S. C. SENGUPTA who in various ways helped me to achieve my objective. I am also grateful to the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute Library for lending me a copy of the 'Tāpasavatsarāja carita.' Last but not the least, I would like to express my gratitude to my publishers, the Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series Office who always come to the rescue of such lazy students of literature as I confess myself to be.

It is hoped that the present work would meet with the approval of the scholars and would have thrown some light on an obscure yet legendary figure of ancient India.

12th June, 1970
234 Dhaula Kuan,
Service Officers' Enclave,
NEW DELHI.

**Niti Adaval**

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

| | |
|---|---|
| Abhbh | Abhinavabhāratī |
| A Bh I | Annals of the Bhandarker Institute |
| Abhv | Abhisārikāvañcitaka |
| A. G. I | Ancient Geography of India |
| A. I. U. | Age of Imperial Unity |
| AN | Anguttara Nikāya |
| ANA | The Commentary of the Aṅguttara Nikāya |
| A. O. Society, Princeton | American Oriental Society, Princeton |
| A. S. I. R. | Report of the Archaeological Survey of India |
| BK | Bṛhatkathā |
| BKM | Bṛhatkathāmañjarī |
| BKŚS | Bṛhatkathāślokasaṅgraha |
| B. L. | Buddhist Legends |
| Dh PA | The Commentary on the Dhammapada |
| Dhs J | Dhonasākha Jātaka |
| Dlh J | Daḷhadhamma Jātaka |
| DN | Dīgha Nikāya |
| Dvy | Divyāvadāna |
| E. H. K. | An Early History of Kauśāmbī |
| Essai | Essai sur Guṇāḍhya et la Bṛhatkathā |
| H. C. S. L. | A History of Classical Sanskrit Literature |
| H. I. L. | A History of Indian Literature |
| H. S. L. | A History of Sanskrit Literature |
| I. H. Q. | Indian Historical Quarterly |
| I. A. | Indian Antiquary |
| ItvA | The Commentary on the Itivuttaka |
| J | The Jātakas |
| J. A. | Journal Asiatique |
| J. A. S. B. | Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal |
| J. I. S. O. A. | Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art |

| | |
|---|---|
| J. O. R. M. | Journal of the Oriental Research, Madras |
| J. R. A. S. | Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland |
| J. U. P. H. S. | Journal of the U. P. Historical Survey |
| K. A. L. | Kauśāmbī in Ancient Indian Literature |
| KPP | Kumārapālapratibodha |
| KSS | Kathāsaritsāgara |
| Ksbnk | Kosāmbīnagarīkalpa |
| Kthm L | Kathāmukha Lambaka |
| Lv L | Lāvāṇaka Lambaka |
| Maj | Majjhima Nikāya |
| M. G. O. MSS Library | Madras Govt. Oriental MSS Library |
| Mh Ps | Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta |
| Mid-Ind Ks. Tribes | Mid-Indian Ksatriya Tribes |
| MNA | The Commentary on the Maj. |
| MP | Milinda-Pañha |
| Mrg C | Mrgāvatī-Caritra |
| Mrgv R | Mrgāvatī-Rāsa |
| Mt J | Mātanga Jātaka |
| Mt P | Matsya Purāṇa |
| Mvr | Manoramāvatsarāja |
| Ndp | Nāṭyadarpaṇa |
| Nvdj L | Naravāhanadattajanma Lambaka |
| P. F. O. C. | Proceedings of the Fourth Oriental Conference |
| P. I. | Purāṇa Index |
| Pl L L | Pāli Literature and Language |
| P. P. N. D. | Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names |
| Prd | Priyadarśikā |
| Prk | Prabandhakośa |
| Pry | Pratijñāyaugandharāyaṇa |
| Pts A | The Commentary on the Paṭisambhidāmagga |
| Pv A | The Commentary on the Petavatthu |
| Rtv | Ratnāvalī |
| Sk P | Skanda Purāṇa |
| Smd P | Śrīmadbhāgavata Purāṇa |
| Sm L | Suratamañjarī Lambaka |

| | |
|---|---|
| SN | Sutta Nipāta |
| SN A | The Commentary on the Sutta Nipāta |
| Srngpr | Śṛngāraprakāśa |
| Ss Ka Mrgv R | Samaya Sundar Kā Mṛgāvatī Rasa |
| S. V. B. | La Source de la Vāsavadattā de Bhāsa |
| Svd | Svapnavāsavadatta |
| Sy N | Saṃyutta Nikāya |
| Sy NA | The Commentary on the Saṁyutta Nikāya |
| T | Taranga |
| Tı sspc | Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacarita |
| Tvı | Tāpasavatsarājacarita |
| Udv | Udenavatthu |
| Vin | Vinaya Piṭaka |
| Vm | Visuddhimagga |
| Vrdpr | Vatsarājodayanaprabandha |
| Vs P | Viṣṇu Purāṇa |
| Vık | Vividhatīrthakalpa |
| Vvd | Vīṇāvāsavadatta |
| Vy P | Vāyu Purāṇa |
| Yuan Chwang | On Yuan Chwang's travels in India |

# INTRODUCTION

## *Popularity*

The story of Vatsarāja Udayana of Kauśāmbī has come down to us in various streams of legends. Udayana was a young contemporary of Lord Buddha and Lord Mahāvīra, around whose romantic figure grew a cycle of very interesting legends. For quite some time in the beginning of its long career, the story of Udayana Vatsarāja was preserved in written as well as oral traditions. Kālidāsa, in his Meghadūta, attests that upto his time, the tales about Udayana were so popular that the village-elders who were adept in them, most probably, whiled away their leisure time in relating and listening to these.[1] The popularity of the Udayana-tales in the 7th century A. D. is testified by Śrīharsa.[2] References to the story of Udayana are also found in the works of Bhavabhūti[3] and Śūdraka.[4] More recently, the excavations at Kauśāmbī have yielded a terra-cota piece on which is drawn a pair of lovers, mounted on an elephant with a lute in the hands of the male figure. It is supposed to depict the popular romance of Udayana and Vāsavadattā.[5] At present, it is with the Bhārata Kalā Bhavana, Kāśī. Dr. V. S. Agrawala is of the opinion that certain drawings in the Khaṇḍagiri caves of Orissa depict portions of the Udayanakathā.[6] Śrīharṣa's testimony assures us that the charm of this romantic story survived at least the long span of twelve centuries in the general public since Udayana, most probably, lived in the 6th century B. C. and Śrīharsa is believed to have flourished in the 7th century A. D.[7] As far as literature is concerned, the story of Udayana has inspired many

1. *Pūrvamegha*, Sl. 30.
2. Prelude to Rtv, p. 9; Prelude to Prd, p. 5.
3. Mālatīmādhava, Act II, p. 57.
4. Mṛcchakaṭika, Act IV, Sl. 26, p. 124.
5. JUPHS, Vol. XVIII, 1945, pp. 82-90, '*A Vāsavadattā Udayana Terra-cotta Plaque from Kauśāmbī*, by Rai Krishna Das.
6. JISOA, Calcutta, Vol.XVI, 1946, pp.102-109, '*Vāsavadattā Śakuntalā scenes in the Rānīgumphā Cave in Orissa*' by Dr. V. S. Agrawala.
7. De and Dasgupta, HCSL, Vol. I, p. 255.

ancient Indian authors such as Guṇāḍhya, Bhāsa, Śrīharṣa, Bhīmaṭa, Śūdraka, Viśākhadeva, Buddhaghoṣa and Hemacandrācārya, to name only some of them. According to Dr. S. N. Dasgupta, "Udayana was a Hindu Don Juan who served as the model of many other dramatists."[1] He is the semihistorical beau-ideal of ancient Indian literature. Dr. Keith calls him "the gay and dashing hero Udayana whose love adventures were famed for their number and variety."[2] Lacôte thinks that "Udayana is the most known of the personages whom the legend of the Buddha makes play a role in the history of the Master."[3] In fact, on the basis of the excessive popularity of the story of Udayana amongst the ancient Indian writers, one is tempted to conclude that because of his romantic personality and eventful life, Udayana has been the most celebrated king of ancient India as far as the literary evidence goes.

### *Importance*

A critical study of the different versions of the Udayana legend as preserved in ancient Indian literature becomes significant when we realise the important role that he played in the politics, religious life and literature of ancient India.

### *Political*

The Aṅguttara Nikāya (AN) informs us that Vatsa was one of the sixteen great States, existing in the ancient India of Lord Buddha's times[4]. Historians include it among the four most eminent ones, the other three being Avantī, Magadha and Kosala.[5] Udayana, evidently the greatest of the Vatsa kings, who had reasons to be proud of his noble ancestry, viz. the Pauravas, matched Kauśāmbī and Vatsa in their celebrity in the political life of ancient India. His matrimonial alliances with the royal families of Avantī and Magadha, as reported, are trustworthy. The first of his marriages was the romantic consequence of his fateful encounter with Pradyota Mahāsena, the ferocious king of Avantī who had him captured through the ruse of the wooden elephant. The second marriage was manoeuvred to

1. De and Dasgupta, HSCL Vol I, p. 693.
2. Keith, HSL, p. 270.
3. *Essai*, pp. 231-232.
4. AN, IV. pp. 252, 256, 260.
5. R. C. Majumdar, *Ancient India*, p. 99.

seek the valuable alliance of the powerful king of Magadha to drive away a usurper, Pāñcāla Āruṇi from the throne of Kauśāmbī. The Kashmirian Bṛhatkathā (BK) tradition credits Udayana with a 'digvijaya', while the Priyadarśikā (Prd) and Ratnāvalī (Rtv) ascribe to him the conquests of Kalinga and Kosala.

The Kashmirian BK tradition is our only authority about the end of Udayana. According to it, after him, the kingdom of Kauśāmbī passed on to the hands of the kings of Avantī through a rare act of generosity on Udayana's part. But according to the Purāṇas, his son Vahīnara succeeded him on the throne of Kauśāmbī. The Buddhist tradition informs us that during Udayana's lifetime, his son, Bodhi acted as his Viceroy in the Bhagga province. Thus, these various sources converge towards marking Udayana out as an important political figure whose power, both by alliances and conquests was felt over an extensive area from Avantī to Anga and Kalinga. In the interests of ancient Indian history, it is necessary to examine the reliability of these traditions.

*Religious*

The importance of king Udayana's religious beliefs rests on the fact that he lived at a time when the religious atmosphere of India was surcharged with the influence of the two great religious leaders, Buddha and Mahāvīra. Dr. K. M. Munshi describes it as a period "lit up by the personalities of two great reformers, Buddha and Mahāvīra".[1] The cultural attainments of this period are considered to be "of an unusually high order."[2] During this period, the old Vedic religion had gradually ceased to be a strong living force since the Upaniṣads had initiated freedom of speculation with the fundamental principles of life. "It created a ferment of new ideas and philosophical principles, leading to the establishment of numerous religious sects, such as never occurred in India before or since........Two of these, Buddhism and Jainism were heterodox and revolutionary."[3]

Being a product of such a period and having directly or indirectly come into contact with the two great religious pro-

1. Foreword to AIU., p. XIV.
2. R. C. Majumdar, Preface to A I U., p. XLV.
3. R. C. Majumdar, *Ancient India*, p. 168.

phets Buddha and Mahāvīra, Udayana becomes a very interesting subject of religious influence. The Buddhistic tradition would have us believe that Udayana was converted to Buddhism, whereas the Jain tradition also, although faintly, claims his conversion to Jainism. However, it maintains more vigorously that Mṛgāvatī, the mother of Udayana embraced Jainism and entered Lord Mahāvīra's order as a nun. That Sāmāvatī, one of Udayana's many wives, was converted to Buddhism and became one of the leading lady-disciples of Lord Buddha, is generally accepted. According to one tradition, Vāsavadattā dedicated her son Bodhi to the Buddha's order, even before his birth. Later on, Bodhi on his own is believed to have taken unto himself the threefold refuge of Buddhism.

The Sanskrit authors, however, give the impression that Udayana was a follower of the orthodox Hindu religion upto the end of his life.

Kauśāmbī was undoubtedly an important centre of Buddhism in Lord Buddha's time and afterwards. Some of the Lord's most important Suttas, e.g., the Sandaka Sutta, Upakkilesa Sutta and the famous Kosambiya Sutta were delivered at the Ghositārāma at Kauśāmbī, archaeological remains of which have fortunately been excavated now at Kosam, a village near Allahabad which has been finally identified with Kauśāmbī.

*Literary*

The story of Udayana's life is full of romance from beginning to end. He is one of the very few romantic heroes of ancient Indian literature who, are at the same time, are believed to be real historical figures also. The legend that centres round him, has given birth to many valuable works of ancient Indian literature and not unjustifiably too. His whole life exudes romance. The accounts of his birth and early life are no exceptions to it and they are all enveloped in an aura of romance. Even before his birth, his mother was mistaken for a piece of flesh by a monster-bird and was consequently taken away to a distant forest where Udayana was born amidst wild surroundings and was reared up in a hermitage instead of being brought up in his father's royal palace at Kauśāmbī. During his childhood, he acquired a power to bring into his control even the wildest elephants. When on his father's passing away,

he secured his hereditary kingdom of Vatsa, he was captured by king Caṇḍa Pradyota through a stratagem. In Pradyota's captivity, he fell in love with princess Vāsavadattā and with the help of his astute minister Yaugandharāyaṇa, fled away with her. Shortly after this romantic marriage, which has been immortalised by Bhāsa in his Pratijñāyaugandharāyaṇa (Pry) and to which Kālidāsa alludes in his Meghadūta, his ministers with the cooperation of Vāsavadattā, made Udayana believe in her accidental death in a fire at Lāvāṇaka, in order to get him married in the interests of the state, to princess Padmāvatī of Magadha.

According to the Buddhist tradition, Sāmāvatī, his pious queen consort, was killed by the evil machinations of Māgandiyā, an illdisposed cowife.

According to yet another tradition, his wife Padmāvatī was suspected of murdering her step-son.

*Primary Sources*

Because of his amorous nature and romantic personality, he has been associated with several other women. These numerous amours of the gay and gallant hero with whose romantic adventures the ancient Indian audience was familiar, made him a desirable hero of the romantic type. The Pali writers exploit many incidents of his life to illustrate some of their important sayings, e.g., Daḷhadhamma Jātaka (Dlh J), Mātaṅga Jātaka (MtJ) and Udenavatthu (Udv). To the Prakrit authors, his life supplies with themes for many interesting tales. Material for the story of king Udayana is available in all the three languages of ancient India, viz. Sanskrit, Pali and Prakrit. However, the three different versions of the Udayana legend are the classical Sanskrit version, the Buddhist version and the Jain version. It is noteworthy that there are some works which, although in Sanskrit, do not support the version of the classical Sanskrit works in case of a controversy amongst the different versions of the legend, e.g. the Divyāvadāna (Dvy) which follows the Buddhist tradition and the Parbandhakośa (Prk) which follows the Jain tradition. Therefore, it sometimes becomes necessary to classify the various traditions as the Sans-

krit tradition, the Buddhist tradition and the Jain tradition, the latter two breing based on a few Sanskrit works also.

*Sanskrit Sources : Bṛhatkathā*

Foremost among the Sanskrit sources from which we get the material foı reconstructing the story of king Udayana, is the now extinct BK of Guṇāḍhya because it deals with even those parts of Udayana's life which have not been touched upon by any other literary work, e.g., the end of Udayana. In fact, it is more important than any other literary source because it is the only work which gives a complete tıeatment of the story of king Udayana from his brith to his death. As the BK is not available to us, we have to depend on its Kashmiıian and Nepalese recensions to have an idea of the oıiginal BK version of the Udayana legend. The Kashmiıian recensions, viz., Ksemendra's Bṛhatkathāmañjarī (BKM) and Somadevas Kathāsaritāgara (KSS) generally give the same version of the story but the Nepalese recension, viz., the Bṛhatkathāślokasangraha (BKŚS) of Budhasvāmin often differs from them. In case of any controversy between the Kashmiıian and the Nepalese BK recensions, the latter generally agıees with the dramatist Bhāsa e.g., about the name of Udayana's contemporary king of Magadha. And then it becomes difficult for us to find out the exact stand of the original version of the BK on that particular topic. However, after having made a critical study of the three BK recensions, scholaıs are generally agıeed that in case of a difference of opinion among the three, the BKŚS is comparitively more reliable. "It seems, therefore, that Budhasvāmin follows the original with greater fidelity than Kṣemendra and Somadeva who, apart from minor stories which they individually insert, are following a recension refashioned and much enlarged in Kashmir."[1] Sten Konow[2] holds with Lacôte[3] that the source of the KSS and the BKM was based not on the BK of Guṇāḍhya but on a later work complied in the 7th century A. D. Dr. Keith believes that "There is much to prove that Budhasvamin followed far more faithfully his original than the Kashmi-

1. De and Dasgupta, HCSL., p. 99.

2. IA, XLIII, p. 66.

3. *Essai*, p. 207.

rian authors."[1] He supports[2] the contention of Lacôte and Sten Konow. Speyer[3] also agree with Lacôte. The latter concludes that "the accord of Bhāsa and Budhasvāmin proves clearly their equal fidelity to the common source—the Bṛhatkathā of Guṇāḍhya."[4]

*Date of Guṇāḍhya*

Winternitz would like to place Guṇāḍhya in the first century A. D. Keith is not so certain about it. In fact, the date of Guṇāḍhya varies with that of Bhāsa since Guṇāḍhya has to be placed earlier than Bhāsa.[5] Bühler in his 'Kashmir Report' and Lacôte in his 'Mélanges Lévi' agree about the date of the BK and place it in the 1st century A. D. while Sylvain Lévi prefers to place it in the 3rd century. Thus the last word on the topic, has not been said as yet.[6]

*Bṛhatkathāślokasangraha of Budhasvāmin*

It is, again, unfortunate that the BKŚS, which is the most reliable of the BK recensions, is not available to us in a complete form. It is divided into cantos ( Sargas ) of which only twentyeight survive today, probably a mere fraction of the original though it extends to 4539 verses. Budhasvāmin seems to have assumed that his reader already knows the tale of Udayana and therefore, instead of treating it in full, he only refers to it occasionally.

The date of Budhasvāmin is also doubtful. He is believed to have lived in the 9th or the 10th century.[7]

*The Kathāsaritsāgara of Somadeva*

The KSS of Somadeva is said to have been written between 1063 and 1082 A. D.[8] He is believed to have based his work on a Kashmirian BK of, probably, the 7th ceutury A. D., a much later version of the original BK. He, like Kṣemendra, seems

1. Keith, HSL, p. 273.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 275.
3. 'Studies about the KSS', p. 27.
4. J. A. : S. V. B., ( J. A. )
5. De and Dasgupta, HCSL, p. 696.
6. *Ibid.*, pp. 692, 693.
7. De and Dasgupta, HCSL, p. 692.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 692.

to have idealised the facts that were distasteful to him, in the interests of his story, e.g., he changes into a princess Kalingasenā who was, perhaps, a courtesan in the original BK. The central character in his work as well as in Kṣemendra's BKM, seems to be Udayana rather than his son Naravāhanadatta.

### *The Bṛhatkathāmañjarī of Kṣemendra*

Kṣemendra is said to have written his book about 25 to 30 years before Somedeva.[1] Upto the fifth Caturdārikā Lambaka, his work agrees with Somedeva's work, almost point to point, but from that point, the two diverge. The story of Udayana is, mostly, found in the second, third and fourth Lambakas of both the works. So from our point of view, they supply the same data. Even afterwards, they agree whenever the Udayana-story is picked up, e.g., in the Madanamañcukā Lambakas and the Suratamañjarī Lambakas which give an account of Udayana's end. Like Somadeva, Kṣemendra tends to exaggerate the facts even at the cost of authenticity.

Both the works utilise the story of Udayana as a frame-work to accomodate the other tales.

Like the KSS, the BKM is also divided in eighteen Lambakas but while the former is subdivided in Taraṅgas, the latter in the beginning tries to keep up the pretence of being subdivided in Gucchas, but, eventually gives it up, obviously as it is much more condensed than the former.

### *The Plays of Bhāsa*

Before 1912, the plays of Bhāsa were not seen but only heard of. Both Kālidāsa and Bāṇa had paid him tributes in his capacity of a great predecessor and author of a number of plays. Although, he was praised and cited by a number of later writers yet, no work of his was available until 1912. Between 1912 and 1915, T. Ganapati Sastri published from Trivandrum thirteen plays of varying size and merit, which he ascribed to Bhāsa although, they bore no evidence of authorship. Since then, 'a whirlwind of prolonged controversy'[2] has been raging round the authorship of these thirteen plays. While, a

1. De and Dasgupta, HCSL, p. 692.
2. *Ibid*, p. 102.

large number of eminent scholars supported Mm. Sastri in attributing these plays to Bhāsa and accepting one of them as the oftquoted Svapnavāsavadatta ( Svd ), an equally large number of scholars of no lesser eminence, were not convinced by the views advanced. Dr. S. K. De states, "Important arguments were advanced on both sides, but it is remarkable that there is not a single argument on either side which can be regarded as conclusive, or which may not be met with an equally plausible argument on the opposite side."[1] However, this controversy need not trouble us much. Whether the plays be the creation of the Bhāsa, celebrated and much cited in the Sanskrit literature or of some other obscure author, what matters to us is that two of the thirteen Trivandrum plays deal with important portions of the Udayana legend. As we have said before, Lacôte believes these along with the BKŚS, to be faithful to the original BK. Whether he be the real Bhāsa or not, we shall refer to him by the name of Bhāsa for want of another name.

Scholars, again, differ about the date of these plays. The present tendency, however, is to believe that the author of these plays 'flourished near about the 3rd century B. C'.[2]

*Pratijñāyaugandharāyaṇa*

Two of these thirteen plays, viz., the Pry and the Svd which have won almost universal approbation, draw their themes from the same legend-cycle which Budhasvāmin utilised, viz., that popularised by the BK of Guṇāḍhya. Of these, the Pry is based on the celebrated romance of Udayana and Vāsavadattā, but the two lovers do not appear in this play at all, although there are ample references to them, specially to the noble qualities of Udayana. The real hero of the play is Udayana's astute minister, Yaugandharāyṇa. In fact, it is a drama of political intrigue in four acts, and with the matching of the wits of the respective ministers of Pradyota and Udayana, is weaved into it the romance of Udayana and Vāsavadattā, which device succeeds in supplying it with diversified interest and consequently, much popularity. It is simple in execution and marked by a rapidity of action, but there are many inconsistencies in

1. De and Dasgupta, HCSL, p. 102.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 696.

the play which make one feel that the plot is not carefully and clearly developed. However, it has to be admitted that it finely depicts the noble sentiment of the fidelity of a minister for his master; the amusing interludes, viz., the domestic scene at the palace of Pradyota Mahāsena in the second act and the intoxicated ravings of a page in the fourth act, are cleverly drawn.

*Svapnavāsavadatta*

The other play Svd which raised one of the most serious controversies of ancient Indian literature, is based on the popular theme of the fake death of Vāsavadattā at Lāvāṇaka and the second marriage of Udayana with princess Padmāvatī of Magadha. Its theme is much less open to criticism than the Pry. "It is more effectively devised in plot and there is a unity of purpose and inevitableness of effect."[1] The general story belongs to the old legend; but the motif of the dream is finely woven in. All the characters are cleverly depicted. "The gay old amourist of the legend and of Harṣa's dramas, is figured as a more serious, faithful, if somewhat lovesick and imaginative hero. The main feature of the play, however, is the dramatic skill and delicacy with which are depicted the feeling of Vāsavadattā to whose noble and steadfast love no sacrifice is too great; while her willing martyrdam is set off by the equally true, but helpless, love of Udayana as a victim of divided affections and motives of statecraft."[2] "Bhāsa has treated dexterously and with taste........Have Euripide, Racine over laid out an action more simple but at the same time more humane and richer in pathetic incidents which will bring forth and offer to them moral situations more delicate, more worthy of the depiction by a fine connoisseur of the Human heart ?"[3] In fact, it is a drama in six acts which abounds in noble and fine sentiments.

*Śrīharṣa's plays : Ratnāvalī and Priyadarśikā*

The authorship of Rtv and Prd, two plays based on two pretty amours of Udayana, is ascribed to Śrīharṣa who has been identified with king Śrī Harṣavardhana Śilāditya of Sthāṇvīś-

1. De and Dasgupta, HCSL, p. 111.
2. *Ibid.*
3. Lacôte : S. V. B. ( J. A. )

vara and Kānyakubja; the illustrious patron of Bāṇabhaṭṭa and of the Chinese pilgrim Yuan Chwang, who reigned in the first half of the 7th century A. D. (circa 606-648 A. D.)[1]. Both the plays are Nāṭikās. They are supposed to be "practically variations of a single theme in almost identical form,"[2] on the basis of the striking similarity of structure, characters and situations which it is difficult to accept as merely accidental. Both the plays are in conformity with the old Udayana legend in so far as they have Udayana as the amorous and gallant hero, Vāsavadattā as his chief queen, Kāñcanamālā as her principal attendant who has accompnied her from her parental home and Vasantaka as the jester friend of the hero. The heroines are, however, not traceable in an identical form in the legend but "in their conception, they afford unmistakable parallelism throughout. It is true that the characters of the hero and the chief members of his entourage are, in a large measure, fixed by tradition."[3] And though it cannot be denied that the heroines are independent of the old Udayana legend, yet their originals models can be traced back in the old legend.

As is usual in a comedy of courtlife of ancient India, the plays cansist like Kālidāsa's Mālavikāgnimitra, of the lighthearted love-intrigue of the king with a seemingly lowly maiden of unknown status who is in reality a disguised princess and the jealous queen's cousin, their secret meetings chiefly through the help of the jester and the damsel's friend, the jealousy of the queen and her final acceptance of the situation in the last act when the true identity of the heroine comes to light. With this love interest are woven into the plays, two glorious conquests of the hero whose authenticity however is subject to question. Dr. De considers Rtv to be undoubtedly the better play in every respect but admits that the only original feature of the P.d is the effective introduction of a play within a play ( Garbhānka ) as an integral part of the action, and its interruption ( as in Hamlet ) brought on by its vivid reality.[4]

1. De and Dasgupta, HCSL, pp. 255-25?.
2. *Ibid.*
3. *Ibid.*
4. *Ibid.*, p. 258.

*Tāpasavatsarājacarita*

Tāpasavatsarāja-carita ( Tvr ), a variation in six acts of the theme of the Svd has survived in a unique Śāradā manuscript. The fact that the drama was known to and cited by Ānandavardhana, Abhinavagupta as well as Kuntaka, makes it indubitable that Anangaharṣa Mātrarāja, son of king Narendravardhana, who is credited with its authorship, belonged to a period earlier than the middle of the 9th century A. D.[1] Mātrarāja makes his play melodramatic by making Udayana, king of Vatsa, turn into an almost demented ascetic out of grief at his beloved Vāsavadattā's alleged death in a fire at Lāvāṇaka, while his astute minister Yougandharāyaṇa utilises this ruse to get the king married in the interests of the state to princess Padmāvatī of Magadha who is enamoured of him from a portrait and has herself turned into a nun. The happy reunion with Vāsavadattā who is disguised as a 'parivrājikā', occurs at holy Prayāga at a melodramatic moment which is treated as a climax when Padmāvatī, Vāsavadattā and the king, all of them frustrated and tired of life, are about to commit suicide. All the same, the play is admitted to have some real poetry and pathos with rather too much of lamentation in elegant and touching verses.[2] But the fact that there is hardly any convincing characterisation or sensible action deducts much from its value, as a source of the story of king Udayana, which centres round the fact that where the BKŚS and Bhāsa differ from the Kashmirian BK tradition, it sides with the former two and thus confirms their fidelity to the original BK.[3]

*Vīṇā-Vāsavadatta*

The Vīṇāvāsavadatta[4] (Vvd) is an incomplete amorous play, breaking off at the beginning of the fourth act. It resembles Bhāsa's Pry and appears to be another version of the celebrated Udayana-Vāsavadattā romance. In it, the ruse of the artificial elephant, the imprisonment of Udayana at Ujjayinī and the subsequent music lessons on the Vīṇā to Vāsavadattā are utilised to the full. According to S. K. Sastri "It is closely

1. De and Dasgupta, HCSL, pp. 300-301.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 301.
3. Lacôte : S. V. B., ( J. A. ), p. 508.
4. Ed. Kuppusvami Sastri and C. Kunhan Raja, Madras 1931.

similar in plot, style and spirit to the Pry."[1] V. Varadāchārya is of the opinion that it was written in the early centuries of the Christian era[2], but there is no convincing proof of this supposition. It is definitely a later development of the Pry of Bhāsa. Some scholars have suggested that this play is identical with the lost Unmādavāsavadatta of Śaktibhadra but Dr. De is of the opinion that it is an unsupported conjecture.[3]

These are the only Sanskrit works available to us today which deal with one or the other aspect of the popular Udayana legend although they mostly confine themselves to the romantic aspect of it. Yet it can be surmised that many other Sanskrit writers treated this age-old theme, although their works are, unfortunately, extinct today. Of these, we can have an idea of the subject-matter of a few while some we only know by name.

*Abhisārikāvañcitaka of Viśākhadeva*

Most important of these extinct works is the Abhisārikāvañcitaka (Abhv) or Abhisārikābandhitaka of Viśākhadeva, who is none other than Viśākhadatta, the famous writer of the Mudrārākṣasa, who is believed to have flourished at some period anterior to the 9th century A. D.[4] Quotations from it by Abhinavagupta[5] and Bhoja[6] show it to be based on another love-legend of Udayana in which, Padmāvatī wins back the lost affections of Udayana who suspects her of having murdered his son and is, consequently, angry with her, by disguising herself as a Śabarī and in the role of an Abhisārikā, making her tender-minded husband fall in love with her again. The fact that in it, Padmāvatī is characterised as murderess of Udayana's son, gives an entirely new tinge to the upto now idealised character of Padmāvatī.

*Manoramāvatsarāja of Bhīmaṭa*

Another important play which is not available to us is the

1. Foreword to the Vvd, p. v.
2. V. Vardacharya, HSL, p. 220.
3. De and Dasgupta, HCSL, p. 300.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 264.
5. J. O. R. Madras, April 1928, Vol. II, 'The Abhv–a forgotten play of Viśākhadeva'–R. Ramamurti; Vol.III, p.55 (M.G.O. Mss. Library)
6. *Ibid.*, Srnpr, Vol. II, p. 484 ( M. G. O. Mss Library ).

Manoramāvatsarāja (Mvr) of Bhīmaṭa who certainly lived in a period earlier than the 9th century A. D. as he is referred to by Rājaśekhara,[1] and the work itself is cited in the Nāṭya-darpaṇa. We know that Manoramā was the handmaiden of Priyadarśikā in the Prd and was set to put on the character of Udayana in the interplay in it. Did this play deal with another affair of Udayana with her? Rumaṇvān's character in it is a later development upon that of the Svd and the Tvr. Pāñcāla's occupation of Kauśāmbī and the planned burning of Lāvāṇaka is common to all the three plays. Mr. Ramakrishna Kavi appears to be misled in supposing that in the Mvr, Rumaṇvān is made to be a traitor who took the side of Pāñcāla and set fire to Lāvāṇaka[2]. The quotation from it in the Nāṭyadarpaṇa clarifies that Rumaṇvān was only pretending to be on the side of Pāñcāla and that in reality he was faithful to Udayana and was only helping in Yaugandharāyaṇa's plot.

*Kośalikā of Bhaṭṭaśrībhavanatacūḍa*

Kośalikā is another play, cited in the Nāṭyadarpaṇa which depicts Udayana's amourette with Kauśalikā.[3] Its authorship is ascribed to Bhaṭṭaśrībhavanatacūḍa[4] but its date is unknown at present.

*Udayanacarita*

Cited in the Nāṭyadarpaṇa, again, is another play entitled 'Udayanacarita'[5]. Its authorship is not mentioned and cannot be decided. But it is clear from the quotation that it dealt with Pradyota's capture of Udayana through the ruse of the wooden elephant.

*Vatsarājacarita of Śūdraka*

Śūdraka who has been variously assigned to periods ranging from the 2nd century B. C. to the 6th century A. D. and was obviously later than Bhāsa as his play Mrcchakatika is considered to be a later development of Bhāsa's Daridracārudatta is credited with the authorship of a drama, Vatsarājacarita[6] of which nothing more is unfortunately known.

1. V. Vardacharya, HSL, p. 233.
2. PFOC., Vol. II, p. 172.
3. Ndp, p. 144.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 30.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 158.
6. De and Dasgupta, HCSL, p. 761.

*Unmādavāsavadatta of Śaktibhadra and Lalitaratnamālā of Kṣemendra*

Similar is the case of Śaktibhadra's Unmādavāsavadatta and Kṣemendra's Lalitaratnamālā which were probably based on the Udayana-legend.[1]

*Subandhu's Vāsavadattā*

"With the Vāsavadattā of the Udayana-legend, made famous by various poets in Sanskrit literature, Subandhu's romance has nothing common except the name,"[2] although Macdonell got confused between 'Vāsavadattā' and the 'Vāsavadattānāṭyadhāra of another Subandu and mistakenly concluded that the former "relates the popular story of the heroine Vāsavadattā, princess of Ujjayinī, and Udayana, king of Vatsa."[3]

*Subandhu's Vāsavadattānāṭyadhāra*

In the Abhinavabhāratī[4] and the Nāṭyadarpaṇa[5] is found mentioned a drama, 'Vāsavadattānāṭyadhāra' of Subandhu, who was, however, different from the Subandhu known to us. According to Daṇḍin,[6] he lived in the time of Bindusāra. In this drama, the stories of Udayana and Bindusāra seem to have been dramatised, with Bindusāra witnessing Udayana's story and Udayana becoming audience to Vāsavadattā's act. Candragupta also figures in the story of Bindusāra.

Thus we find that there are many Sanskrit works, mostly dramas, which would have helped much in reconstructing the story of king Udayana, but which are, unfortunately, no more extant.

*Purāṇas*

Apart from these classical Sanskrit works, some information about Udayana is also found in the Purāṇas. 'By far the most important chapters in the Purāṇas are the 'Vamśānucarita' portions. The historians of ancient India have tested the mater-

1. De and Dasgupta, HCSL, p. 471.
2. Ibid., p. 219.
3. Macdonell, HSL, p. 332.
4. I. H. Q. : Vol. 19 ( 1943 ), p. 69;-'Abhbh of Abhinavagupta' by V. Raghavan, Abhbh, Vol. III, pp. 45, 47 ( M. G. O. Mss. Library ).
5. Ibid, Ndp. Sl. 21, p. 45 ( Gaek. Edu. Ch. )
6. Ibid., Avantisundarī, p. 34-54 ( M.G. Library, Triennial Catalogue, 1919-22 )

ial in the light of archaeological and epigraphical evidences and found them almost accurate."[1] The exact name Udayana is found only in three of the Purāṇas, the Matsya ( Mt P ), the Viṣṇu ( Vs P ) and the Skanda or Skānda Purāṇas ( Sk P ). The Śr`madbhāgavata ( Smd P ) Purāṇa calls him 'Durdamana.' He, along with a few more kings of his race including his immediate predecessor and successor is, totally, absent in the Vāyu Purāṇa ( Vy P ).

*Date of the Purāṇas*

According to V. R. R. Dikshitar, "The Purāṇas constitute a work of various periods in succession. For example one and the same Purāṇas may have spread over a long period of some centuries."[2] Winternitz is of the opinion that 'the earlier Purāṇas must have come into being before the 7th century for neither later dynasties nor later famous rulers such as, for instance, Harsa, occur in the list of kings.'[3]

*Matsya Purāṇa*

The Mt P, according to Dikshitar,[4] spreads over a number of centuries, commencing with the 5th century B.C. and ending with the 3rd century B. C.

*Visnu Purāṇa*

Winternitz[5] deseribes the Vs P as 'a work of the earlier Purāṇa literature, which on the whole, at least has been preserved in its original form.' Dikshitar[6] is of the opinion that 'its composition extends from the seventh to the fourth century B. C.' Pargiter would, however, assign to this Purāṇa, a period not earlier than the 5th century A. D.[7]

*Śrimadbhāgavata Purāṇa*

Winternitz[8] assigns the Smd P to the 10th century A. D. But Dikshitar,[9] differs from him in firmly putting it down as a work of the 3rd century A. D.

1. V. R. R. Dikshitar, Foreword to P. I., p. xxxii.
2. *Ibid.*, p. xvii.
3. HIL, Vol. I, p. 525.
4. Foreword to P. I., p. xxiv.
5. H I L, Vol. I, p. 20.
6. Foreword to P. I., p. xxvii.
7. *Ibid.*, p. xxv.
8. H I L, Vol. I, p. 556.
9. *op. cit* p. xxix.

*Vāyu Purāṇa*

About the date of the Vy P, Winternitz[1] is definite that it cannot be later than the 5th century A. D. Dikshitar[2] thinks that it may be placed at a period between B. C. 204 and A. D. 44 and that it reached its present form somewhere between 350 B. C. and 500 A. D.

*Skanda or Skānda Purāṇa*

In the third Brahmakhaṇḍa of the Sk P is found a detailed account of Udayana's ancestors, his parents, his birth and his life upto his accession to his father's throne. This account bears a close resemblance to that of the BKM and obviously belongs to the same legend-cycle which was utilised by Ksemendra and Somadeva.

The date of the Sk P is very uncertain because the ancient Purāṇa of this name is probably entirely lost for though there is a considerable number of more or less extensive works claiming to be Samhitās and Khaṇḍas of the Sk P and an almost overwhelming mass of Māhātmyas which give themselves out as portions of this Purāṇa, only one very ancient manuscript contains a text which calls itself simply Sk P. Even this text, however, is scarcely identical with the ancient Purāṇa."[3]

*Pali Sources*

Material for the story of king Udayana ( Udena in Pali ) is found in both the canonical and noncanonical Pali sources. The Cullavagga of the Vinaya Piṭaka (Vin), the Saṃyutta Nikāya ( Sy N ) and a few Jātakas are the canonical works which deal with some particular incidents of Udayana's life. The Majjhima Nikāya ( Maj ) is another canonical work which gives us some valuable information about his son Bodhi. Amongst the non-canonical Pali sources of the story of king Udayana are the commentaries, mostly of Buddhaghoṣa on the canonical Pali books, his Visuddhimagga (Vm) and the Milindapañha (MP).

*The Commentary on the Dhammapada*

The commentary on the Dhammapada ( Dh PA ) is, from our point of view, the most valuable of the Pali sources because

1. HIL, Vol. I, p. 554.
2. *op. cit*, p. 20.
3. Winternitz, HIL, Vol. I, pp. 570-572.

it is the only Pali work which deals with the story of king Udayana in detail. It is not supposed to be written by Buddhaghoṣa.

Burlingame decides on 450 A. D. as the approximate date of the Dh PA.[1]

The story of Udena ( Udayana ) is the longest and in many respects, the most interesting of all the stories of the Dh PA. The Udenavatthu ( Udv ) of the second Vagga, viz., the Appamāda Vagga, contains a whole story-cycle of Udena. It is in reality a cycle of six stories of diverse origin and character, dealing with the fortunes of Udenā, his principal treasurer and his three queen consorts. Only two of the stories are mainly concerned with the fortunes of Udena, the rest being introduced by simple and familiar literary devices. The story of the fortunes of Udena in the Dh PA, stands in much the same relation to the embedded stories as the framestory of Udayana in the KSS and the BKM, to the rest of the collection. Parallels to one or more of the stories are found in Buddhaghoṣa's Vm, his commentaries on the Maj and the AN, the Dvy and the Tibetan Kandjur. The kernel of two of the stories is derived from the Sutta Nipāta ( SN ) and the Udāna.

Story ii. 1. 1 : i. 161-169 relates the circumstances of the birth and youthful career of Udena. The same story is related briefly by Buddhaghoṣa in his commentary on Maj, 85 ( MN A 85 ).[2]

Story ii. 1. 2 : ii. 169-187 is not relevant to the story of Udena.

Story ii. 1. 3 : i. 187-191 relates the circumstances under which Sāmāvatī became one of the queen consorts of Udena. Buddhaghoṣa's version of it is found in his commentary on the AN ( AN A ) at pages 249-264. "Similar in all respects is the story of Pradyota and Sāntā ( Sāmāvatī ) in the Kandjur."[3]

Story ii. 1. 4 : i. 191-199 relates the capture of Udena by Caṇḍapajjota and the winning of Vāsuladattā by Udena. A

1. BL, pt. I, p. 58.
2. Lacôte, Essai, p. 251.
3. Burlingame, BL, pt. I, p. 63.

close parallel to the story is found in the Kandjur. The same story is related very briefly by Buddhaghosa, in his MN A 85.[1]

Story ii. 1. 5 : i. 199-203 ( Cf. xiv. 1 : iii. 193–199 ) relates Buddha's rejection of Māgandiya's offer of his daughter in marriage to him. "The source of this story is SN, iv. 9 or some derivative thereof. A close parallel to it, is Dvy, XXXVI, pp. 519–529; the AN A at pages 249–264; the commentary on the SN (SNA), ii. 542f. It is briefly referred to in the commentary on the Udāna vii ( Ud A ), 383f."[2]

Story ii.1. 6 : i. 208–231 relates the compassing of Sāmāvatī's death by Māgandiyā and is preceeded by the stories of the three treasurers, the monks and the treespirit and Khujjuttarā. The burning of Sāmāvatī and her five hundred women is the subject of Udāna, vii. 10. "The Dh PA quotes the Udāna passage word for word."[3] Close parallels to it are found in the AN A, pages 249–264; Dvy, XXXVI, pages 515–529, the UdA. 383f.

*Buddhaghosa's Visuddhimagga and his commentaries*

Buddhaghosa is said to have belonged to the 5th century A.D.[4] In his Papañcasūdanī (MNA), Paramatthajotikā (SNA), Manorathapūraṇī ( ANA ), Paramatthadīpanī ( UdA ), and the Visuddhimagga, we find stray references to some incidents of Udena's ( Udayana's ) life.

*Dhammapāla's commentary on the Petavatthu*

Another commentary which is relevant to the story of Udayana is Dhammapāla's commentary on the Petavatthu ( PvA ). He is said to have belonged to the 5th century A.D.[5] Burlingame thinks that it is later then the Dh PA.[6]

*Mūlasarvāstivādins' Vinaya*

Like the BK of Guṇāḍhya, the Vinayapiṭaka of the Mūlasarvāstivādins, a sect of the Hīnayāna Buddhists is also lost to us. The Sarvāstivāda school is believed to have had a canon of its own which was in Sanskrit.[7] No complete record of this

1. Lacôte, Essai, p. 251
2. Burlingame, BL, pt I, p 63
3. *Ibid.*
4. Winternitz, HIL, Vol II, p. 175.
5. Ibid., p 183.
6. BL, pt. I, p. 56.
7. *Ibid.*, pp 231-234.

Canon has come down to us. The principal texts of the Mūlasarvāstivāda canon were translated into Chinese from Sanskrit by I-tsing in the years 700-712 A.D. Quotations from it are found in some Buddhist Sanskrit works such as Mahāvastu, Dvy, and Lalitavistara. It is also found preserved in Chinese and Tibetan translations. The Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya obviously preserved an interesting version of the Udayana legend which is now found in the Tibetan Kandjur.[1] A portion of it is also found in the Dvy which borrowed a large portion of its tales from the Vinayapiṭaka of the Mūlasarvāstivāda.[2]

*Divyāvadāna*

The Dvy ("the Heavenly Avadānas") is a later collection than the Avadānaśataka, but it also includes some very old texts. According to Winternitz, the Avadāna-śataka can be ascribed with a considerable degree of certainty to the second century A.D.[3] As a whole, the Dvy belongs to the Hīnayāna school of Buddhism although it also contains a few obviously later additions in the sprit of the Mahāyāna.[4] More than one half of its tales are borrowed from the Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya, amongst them the Udayana tales in the XXXVI.[5] Winternitz places it in the early parts of the 4th century A.D. although he admits that some passages in it were written prior to the 3rd century A.D.[6]

*Udayana-Vatsarāja-paripṛcchā*

In the Śikṣā-Samuccaya is quoted the Udayana-Vatsarāja-paripṛcchā which is counted as belonging to the Ratnakūṭa of Kandjur.[7] It obviously signifies 'some questions of the Vatsa king Udayana.'

*Suhṛllekha of Nāgārjuna*

According to a Tibetan tradition, the 'Suhṛllekha' or 'the friendly epistle' of Nāgārjuna, was addressed to king Udayana (Bde-Spyod). The subscription of the epistle says 'the friendly

1. Lacôte, Essai, pp. 237-273.
2. *Ibid.*
3. HIL, Vol. II, p 279.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 284.
5. S Lévi, "Les elements de formation du Dvy", 105 ff.
6. HIL, Vol. II, pp. 285-286.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 332, No, 29 in the Ratnakūṭa.

epistle, sent by the master (Ācārya) the noble Nāgārjuna (Klu-Sgrub) to his friend king Udayana (Bde-Spyod) is finished.' Is it our Udayana Vatsarāja ? Because of the incompatibility in the dates of Udayana and Nāgārjuna, Max Wellesser[1] and Heinrich Wenzol[2] conclude that the Tibetan version, according to which Udayana is the king to whom the letter is addressed is based upon an error.

*Milinda-pañha*

Among the noncanonical Pali works which refer to Udayana is Milinda-pañha (MP) of the 1st century A.D.[3] It associates him with Gopālamātā.

The rest of the Pali sources that supply the material for the story of king Udayana, are canonical and are supposed to be the sayings of Lord Buddha himself.

*Prakrit Sources*

There are five Prakrit works which supply us with some material for the story of king Udayana. Of these, only four are available to us.

*Kumārapālapratibodha*

Somaprabha, the author of the Kumārapālapratibodha (KPP) was a younger contemporary of king Kumārapāla and Hemacandrācārya. According to a statement of the author himself, the work was written in the year 1184 A.D.[4] It is a didactic poem and a collection of tales in verse and prose, divided in four Prastāvas; for the most part in Prakrit but also, partly, in Sanskrit and Apabhraṃśa. In it, is given the story of king Pajjoya (Pradyota) of Ujjeṇī (Ujjayinī), to elucidate the sin of adultery. The story belongs to the cycle of the Udayana legends. Within the 'Paradāragamane Pradyotakathā' is related the tale of Udayaṇa's capture by Pajjoya and his subsequent escape with Vāsuladattā. Also interesting, from our point of view is the 'Śīlavratapālane Mṛgāvatīkathā' as Mṛgāvatī is said to be Udayana's mother.

*Triṣaṣṭi-Śalākāpuruṣa-carita*

Hemacandra wrote the Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacarita (Trśpc)

1. ZB, VI, 96 ff
2. "Friendly epistle", preface.
3. Winternitz, HIL, Vol. II, p. 175.
4. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 571.

at the desire of king Kumārapāla between 1160 and 1172 A.D.[1] It is devided in ten Parvas. Interwoven with the Abhayarājarṣikathānaka in Parva X, is the Prakrit Udayana legend. Here, it is given in a much more detailed form than in the KPP.

*Prabandhakośa of Rājaśekharasūri*

The Prk, although in Sanskrit, belongs to the Jain cycle of the Udayana legend. It was completed in 1348 A.D.[2] It contains twentyfour Prabandhas, dealing with the lifestories of ten Jain teachers four poets, seven kings and three other personages. Udayana is one of the seven kings. Consequently, the ninteenth prabandha, viz., the 'Vatsarājodayanaprabandha' (Vrdpr) is devoted to him and in very brief outlines, relates one of the many versions of the Udayana legend.

*Vividhatīrthakalpa*

In the Vividhatīrthakalpa (Vtk), the twelfth kalpa, viz., the Kośāmbīnagarīkalpa (Ksbnk), refers to Udayana and helps us in forming an idea of the Jain Udayana-legend. Its authorship is ascribed to Jinaprabha Sūri and it is believed to have been written in V.S. 1389.[3]

*Mṛgāvatīcaritra of Maladhārī Devaprabha*

The Mṛgāvatīcaritra (Mṛgc) of Maladhāri Devaprabha is not available to us today. It is the most important of the Prakrit sources of the Udayana legend. One of the many versions of the Udayana legand is treated by Maladhāri Devaprabha in this work. According to Winternitz, "It is another fairy tale epic, containing one of the many versions of the legend of Udayana and his wives, Vāsavadattā and Padmāvatī. The author, probably, lived in the 13th century A.D."[4] It is important that it is apart from the Prk the only Jain work which presents Padmāvatī in the capacity of Udayana's wife. Its version of the Padmāvatī story was, obviously, much more detailed than that of the Prk which just devotes a single line to her. It was published by Hirālal Haṃsarāj of Jamnagar in 1909 - 10 but is unfortunately not available now. For

1. Winternitz, HIL, p 505
2. De and Dasgupta, HCSL, pp. 326, 428.
3 *Ibid.*
4 HIL, Vol. II, p 536.

the Jain Mṛgāvatī legend the Mṛgāvatirāsa of Samayasundara has been consulted in this thesis because in this Apabhraṃśa work, it is found continued.

*Yogaśāstra*

In the Yogaśāstra of Hemacandra is found an account of Udayana's father Śatānīka's conquest of Campā.

These are the various Sanskrit, Pali and Prakrit sources at present which supply us with the material for the story of king Udayana.

*Secondary Sources : Critical treatment of the legend by modern scholars*

In spite of the great popularity of the Udayana-legend in ancient Indian literature, there are only a few modern scholars who have made any attempt to systamatise it. Foremost among them is Lacôte who in his "Essai sur Guṇādhya et la Bṛhatkathā" devotes a chapter to "Les scurces de la Bṛhatkathā." In it, he makes a critical study of "La Legende de Udayana."[1] In his "La source de la Vāsavadattā de Bhāsa",[2] he compares Bhāsa's version of the Lāvāṇaka episode and Udayana's subsequent marriage with princess Padmāvatī of Magadha with the versions of the Kashmirian and the Nepalese BK and that of the Tvr as well as that of Dvy.

Dr. C. J. Ogden read a paper on 'Bhāsa's version of the Udayana legend' at the 135th meeting of the American Oriental Society in 1923.

Mr. P. D. Gune wrote an article 'Pradyota, Udayana and Śreṇika—a Jain legend'[3] in which he compared the Bhāsa, KSS and the Jain versions of the celebrated Udayana Vāsavadattā romance.

H. K. Deb in his 'Udayana Vatsarāja' devotes himself mostly to Udayana's political exploits.

Prof. N. N. Ghosh and Dr. B. C. Law in their respective works on Kauśāmbī briefly discuss the story of Udayana.

1. Essai, pp. 247-273.
2. Journal Asiatique, Tome 13, 1919.
3. A.Bh.I., Vol. 19 O-21, July 1920.

Yet all these various criticisms of the legend do not draw upon all the various scources that have treated the Udayana legend. Moreover they only devote themselves to discussing only a few aspects of the story of king Udayana. Many other aspects of his life have been left entirely untouched so far, e.g., the question of his religion that he accepted Buddhism is taken for granted without discussing the authenticity of the Buddhist tradition that speaks of his conversion to Buddhism, although other versions of the legend are in contradiction of this claim. No attention has so far been paid to Udayana's life prior to his romance with Vāsavadattā. The question of his successor to the throne of Kauśāmbī has not raised the least uneasiness in the minds of the historians so far, although it could make an interesting subject of study. In fact, it cannot but be regretted that the story of king Udayana has not yet received from the scholars, the attention that it deserved. It is in need of a comprehensive overall treatment.

*Difficulties in reconstructing the story—loss of Valuable Sources*

The trouble that any modern scholar meets with when he makes an attempt to reweave the story of king Udayana from the loose threads that are scattered in ancient Indian literature, is that, firstly, as is usual in the case of such very old and worn out legends, many versions of it are lost to us although we are led to believe that they existed in the times goneby. The loss of the BK as well as the Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya is considerable although both these versions of the Udayana legend have fortunately been preserved in portions. Still, sometimes it is difficult to decide positively as to which of the preserved versions is more authentic. The two Udayana plays of Bhāsa were also unavailable upto 1912 when they were fortunately discovered. There are scholars who, still, maintain that the celebrated Svd of Bhāsa has not been found as yet. Some other works, which would have thrown considerable light on the problem, e.g., the Mrgc and the Abhv are, still, not available to us. Moreover, the very interesting tradition recorded in the Abhv is not found recorded in any other work.

*Mixture of fiction and fact, mythology and reality*

Secondly, about legends going back to such old times as the 6th century B. C., it is unavoidable to meet various astound-

ingly different versions of the theme. Moreover, a lot of fiction, mostly of the mythological type gets added up to the true facts. This makes the task of a person, desirous of sifting the whole material and of separating the grains of fact from the husk of fiction, very difficult. The only touchstone on which the authenticity of the various traditions can be tested, is that of probability and to some extent seniority. It is natural to suppose that what is older and, therefore, nearer to the time of the real happenings of the various incidents of Udayana's life is generally more reliable. Not that there cannot be any exception to it. As for probability, it has to be admitted that the circumstances of today are very dissimilar to those of the 6th century B. C. what would have been a natural reaction to a certain action in those bygone days, would perhaps appear improbable to the modern mind. For example, the modern mind will shirk at the punishment meted out to a conspiring wife who was made to eat cakes of her own flesh; yet that is precisely what Udayana forced Māgandiyā to undergo, according to one Buddhist tradition. Similar is the case of the monster bird which is supposed to have flown away with Udayana's mother during her pregnancy. Those of a sceptical bent of mind will also be prone to revolt at being asked to accept the unanimous assertion of Udayana's supernatural power over elephants.

*Limitations*

Therefore, all our attempts at reweaving the story of king Udayana, a king of such old times as Lord Buddha himself, stop at finding out only the most probable solution to any controversy that might result from a comparision of various literary sources to be consulted in this connection, instead of positively proposing an absolutely correct one. As we have admitted before, the addition of mythology makes the task more difficult. Yet, there are some facts which shine through all the layers of dust that has settled on down for ages on the story of king Udayana. These are (i) his separation from his father before his birth, (ii) his capture by Caṇḍa Pradyota of Avantī through the ruse of the artificial elephant (inspite of Bhāmaha's protest

at its improbability)[1] and (iii) his subsequent romantic marriage with Vāsavadattā. For the other details of his story, we will have to test the various relevant traditions on the touchstone of probability and to some extent seniority as we have said before, and thus try to reweave from these loose literary threads, a story of king Udayana which will still be only the most probable one.

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1. Kāvāylaṅkāra, Chap. IV.

# THE STORY OF KING UDAYANA

As Gleaned from Sanskrit, Pali and Prakrit Sources

# CHAPTER I

## AGE AND GENEALOGY

### *Age*

The first thing which we try to find out about any historical personage is the age in which he existed. For almost all the information about that era of Indian history to which the celebrated king Udayana belonged, history is indebted to literature—mostly Sanskrit, Pali and Prakrit. For such a remote period of ancient Indian history, the question of Udayana's time has given rise to surprisingly little controversy so far. Indian literature offers quite substantial information about Udayana's great contemporaries and that is the only clue which helps us solve the mystery of Udayana's age.

The most eminent personality whom ancient Indian literature claims as having lived at the same time as king Udayana of Kausāmbī, is Lord Buddha,—the most dominating figure of his times. Testimony for this historical co-existence of Udayana Vatsarāja with Buddha comes to us from the Buddhist literature, both canonical and noncanonical. Some of these references bring Udayana in direct contact with Lord Buddha, while the rest incidentally mention him as Buddha's contemporary.

### *Pali Sources*

The Dlh J brings king Udayana into direct contact with Lord Buddha. According to it, to plead the case of Bhaddavat , a she-elephant of king Udena, Buddha went to the king's palace where the latter treated him with great hospitality and respect and made valuable gifts to the order of the Bhikkhus which was led by the Lord. At the Lord's advice, Udena also mended his behaviour towards Bhaddavatī.[1]

The Mt J and the SNA relate how king Udena of Kosambī maltreated Piṇḍola Bhāradvāja who was delivering a religious discourse to the women of Udena's household. Bhāradvāja went to Gandhakutidvāra at Jetavana where Buddha was at that

1. J. iii, 384 ff, No. 409.

time staying and related the whole unpleasant incident to him.[1]

The DVY, the Dh PA, the SNA and the Ud A tell the story of Māgandiyā ( Mākandikā ) alias Anupamā, the extremely beautiful daughter of Māgandiya ( Mākandika ). Her father, offered her to the Lord in marriage, but the latter rejected her, much to Māgandiya's and his daughter's irritation. She was then married to king Udena of Kosambī.[2]

The DVY and the Dh PA mention that Śyāmāvatī ( Sāmāvatī ), a chief consort of Udayana and a lay devotee of Lord Buddha, refused to kill a fowl for her husband's meal and consented to cook it, when it was already killed, for Lord Buddha. The DVY adds that she also told her companions that she had seen the Lord[3].

The Dh PA relates how Sāmāvatī came to embrace Buddhism. Her maidservant, Khujjuttarā heard a discourse of the Lord and it was through her that Sāmāvatī at her own request, was converted to Buddhism. At that time the Lord was staying at Kosambi and on his way to and back from his meals Sāmāvatī and her companions used to worship him from afar.[4]

The DVY states that Buddha delivered a discourse to the Bhikṣus on the death of Śyāmāvatī and her five hundred women attendants through the wily machinations of her cowife Anupamā; and when king Udayana came to know of their death, he went and consulted Lord Buddha about this tragedy that had happened in his harem.[5]

The DVY also tells how Śrīmatī Devī, another queen of Udayana, wanted to invite the Lord along with the Bauddha Sangha, to take meals at her house. After having procured her husband's permission, she duly sent the invitation, which was accepted by the Lord[6].

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1. J. ii, 375 ff, No 497; SNA iii, p 26.
2. DVY, xxxvi, pp. 515 529; Dh PA, i, ii pp 199-203; Udv; SNA ii, 542 f, UdA, 382 f.
3. DVY, xxxvi, pp. 530, Dh PA, ii, Udv p 214
4. Dh PA, i-ii-Udv pp 208-211
5. DVY, xxxvi, pp 533-539.
6. DVY, xxxvi, pp. 541-542.

The Dh PA contains an account of king Udena's conversion to Buddhism. He wanted his wife, Sāmāvatī to precept him in Buddha's religion of which she was a follower. The latter, however, repeatedly requested the king to make the noble Lord himself his refuge. The king, ultimately, went to the Lord and took unto himself the threefold refuge of the Buddhists. Afterwards, he invited the Lord to his palace and for seven days consecutively, gave many valuable gifts to the Bhikkhu Saṅgha.[1]

The Dh PA also relates how three bankers of Kosambī who were king Udena's contemporaries viz., Ghositaseṭṭhī, Kukkuṭaseṭṭhī and Pāvāriyaseṭṭhī embraced Buddhism and became Buddha's lay devotees. They visited the Lord who was at that time staying at Sāvatthī and requested him to visit their homestead. Buddha accepted their invitation and honoured Kosambī with a visit. He stayed there for quite some time and it was during this stay of his, that Udena's wife Sāmāvatī was converted to Buddhism by her maidservant Khujjuttarā.[2]

Pali literature also mentions a prince, Bodhi who had for his father, king Udena of Kosambī. The Vin, the Maj and the Dhonasākha Jātaka ( Dhs J ) state that Bodhi, who was living at Sumsumāragiri in the Bhagga country, had a new palace built there which was completed when Buddha was staying at Bhesakalāvana nearby. At Bodhi's invitation, the Lord along with the Bauddha Saṅgha, had a meal at Bodhi's new palace.[3] It is well worth noticing in this connection that Bodhi is, nowhere, called a king. He is repeatedly referred to as only a prince and therefore his father, king Udena must have been alive at that time.

A very important reference to Udayana in Pali literature is found in the PVA. It informs us that after the death of Lord Buddha, when the first great council was in progress, a minister of king Udena died. Then the king appointed Uttara, the minister's son in his father's place.[4]

1. Dh PA, i, ii, x, Udv, pp. 215-220.
2. *Ibid.* Udv, 203-212; ANA, i, 226, 237 f; ItvA, 23 f; P3A, 498 f.
3. Vin, ii, p. 127; Maj., 85, J. iii, p. 157, No. 353.
4. PVA, ii, 10, pp. 140-141.

The Cullavagga of the Vin relates an incident in which king Udena of Kosambī, presented to Ānanda five hundred costly robes. The incident took place after Lord Buddha's death, when Ānanda went to Kosambī to fulfil the deathbed instructions of his master to impose the Brahmadaṇḍa on monk Channa.[1]

These numerous references make it clear that so far as the information available in the Buddhist literature goes, king Udayana happened to be a contemporary of the great Lord Buddha. The two references to Udayana in the PVA and the Cullavagga add, however, that he survived Lord Buddha.

It would not be out of place to mention in this connection that the Tibetan Buddhist tradition corroborates the evidence found in the Pali Buddhist literature about Udayana's contemporaneity with Lord Buddha. According to it the Lord himself converted Udayana ( Tcharbyed ), son of Śatānīka ( Dmag-brgya-ba ), king of Vatsa ( Vadsala ), to Buddhism.[2] The Tibetan translation of Lalitavistara and the Tibetan Dulva go to the extent of saying that "the king of Kauśāmbī, Śatānīka ( Dmag-brgya-ba ) had a son born to him at the same time as Lord Buddha and as the world was illuminated on his birth as with the sun, he was called Udayana." Three other would-be kings, Pradyota of Avantī, Prasenajit of Kosala and Bimbisāra of Magadha are also said to be born at the same time as Buddha and Udayana.[3] This is, however, going to the extreme and one is forced to say that this absolute synchronism defeats itself, especially as there is no reference to this fact in the Sanskrit Lalitavistara. It is undoubtedly one of those mythological embellishments which gather round historical persons who are also illustrious in the field of religion.

*Prakrit Sources*

The Prakrit literature supports the Pali literature about Udayana's age, because there is one reference in it which brings Udayana in contact with Lord Mahāvīra who, as is well known, existed at the same time as Lord Buddha.

1. Vin, ii, p. 291.
2. Rockhill, *Life of Buddha*, p. 74; MDO, xvi, pp. 337-339.
3. Rockhill, *Life of Buddha*, p. 17; MDO, xvii, p. 338 5; Dulva, xi, 99 f.

According to the KPP, Udayana was of a very tender age when Mṛgāvatī, his mother entered Lord Mahāvīra's order when the latter was staying at Kosambī.[1]

Another great personality whom literature brings into direct contact with Udayana is king Pradyota of Avantī. It is agreed upon by all that Udayana married Princess Vāsavadattā of Avantī. This is probably the most celebrated romance in ancient Indian history. The most remarkable thing about this matrimonial alliance of Udayana is that references to it are found in all the three literatures,—Sanskrit, Pali and Prakrit. But surprisingly enough, this oft-mentioned fact of Udayana's marriage with Vāsavadattā is the only issue which gives rise to a little controversy about Udayana's time. The difficulty is that the father of Vāsavadattā is not universally called Pradyota.

References to the matrimonial alliance of Udayana with Vāsavadattā are not many in Pali literature. Only the Dh PA relates in detail how king Udena of Kosambī, married in very romantic circumstances, Vāsuladattā, daughter of Caṇḍa Pajjota, the mighty king of Avantī. It, however, clearly calls the father of Vāsavadattā by the name 'Caṇḍa Pajjota.'[2] The same story is related very briefly in the MNA.[3] A close parallel to it is also found in the Tibetan Kandjur. Here also, Vāsavadattā's father is called Pradyota.[4]

There are numerous other references to Caṇḍa Pajjota of Avantī in the Pali literature. In the Maj we have the historic reference to the strained relations between Pajjota of Avantī and Ajātasattu of Magadha.[5] This account not only makes Pradyota a contemporary of Lord Buddha but also a convert to his cult. The Pali tradition, therefore, unanimously makes both Udayana and Pradyota mutual contemporaries who lived in the times of Lord Buddha.

The Prakrit literature also contains an account of Udayana's romantic marriage with Vāsavadattā. Here, too, the father of

1. KPP; *Mṛgāvatīvṛttānta*, pp. 232-235.
2. Dh PA, i, ii, Udv, pp. 191-192.
3. MNA on Sutta 85.
4. Lacôte : *Essai*, p. 251.
5. Maj, iii, p. 7.

Vāsavadattā is said to be king Pajjoya ( Pradyota ) of Ujjayinī ( Ujjeṇī ). The story is related in the KPP and the Trsspc[1]. In this very story, the KPP brings Seṇiya Bimbisāra of Magadha in direct contact with Pajjoya. According to it, Pajjoya marched against Magadha but prince Abhaya, son of Bimbisāra, foiled his plans of victory. Later on, Pajjoya had Abhaya captured through a ruse and kept at Avantī for a long time as a prisoner. He plays the role of Pajjoya's counsellor during the imprisonment of Udayaṇa at Avantī.[2] According to the Prk also, the father of Vāsavadattā was Pradyota.[3]

Another story in the KPP deals with a part of the Mṛgāvatī legend. According to it Udayana was a young boy when Pajjoya manifested his amorous feeling for Mrgāvatī, the mother of Udayana.[4]

The Prakrit literature, thus, agrees with the Pali literature in ascribing Udayana to the time of Lord Buddha and Lord Mahāvīra, when Pradyota of Avantī and Bimbisāra of Magadha also existed.

*Sanskrit Sources*

The Sanskrit literature too, generally, whenever referring to Vāsavadattā, the beloved wife of Udayana, makes her the daughter of king Pradyota of Ujjayinī. Bhāsa in his two plays, the Pry and the Svd, makes it clear that Vāsavadattā's father and hence Udayana's contemporary king of Avantī was called Pradyota. The Pry which has for its theme the celebrated romance of Udayana with Vāsavadattā, naturally mentions more than once her father. These numerous allusions make it definite that Bhāsa believed that Pradyota was the name of the king of Avantī, whose daughter Vāsavadattā married Udayana. But he is often called 'Mahāsena' also.[5]

On consulting the two plays of Śrīharṣa, we find that here too, Vāsavadattā is said to be the daughter of king Pradyota of Avantī. The allusions to Vāsavadattā's father are not

1 KPP, *Pradyotakathā*, pp. 80-82.
2. *Ibid.*, Pradyotakathā, pp. 76-81.
3. Prk, 19 Vrdpr, p. 88.
4. KPP, *Mṛgāvatīkathā*. pp. 232-236.
5. Pry, Act II, pp. 51, 57, 61; Svd, Act VI, pp. 127-131.

many, for Vāsavadattā is not the heroine of these plays but those that we find relevant are decisive.[1] The Prd, moreover, makes it clear that Pradyota and Mahāsena are the names of the same person, Udayana's contemporary king of Avantī and Vāsavadattā's father.[2]

The Vvd is another play which has for its theme the romantic marriage of Udayana and Vāsavadattā. Although this play is not available in a complete form, yet it refers to Vāsavadattā's father many times, calling him by the names of Pradyota[3] and Mahāsena[4] variously. These references leave no doubt about the author of Vvd holding the same views as Bhāsa regarding the father of Vāsavadattā, and this is not quite unexpected as the latter play is obviously modelled on the Pry of Bhāsa.

The Tvr of Anangaharsa has for its theme the story of Svd i. e., Udayana's second marriage with princess Padmāvatī of Magadha but in quite different form. Naturally it alludes to Vāsavadattā's father a good many times, making it clear, like other dramatists, that Pradyota alias Mahāsena was the ruler of Ujjayinī in Udayana's times, whose daughter eloped with the latter.[5]

*Pradyota, king of Magadha or Avantī ?*

While we find so many authorities agreeing on this momentous point, a discordant note is sounded unexpectedly by the Kashmirian recensions of the BK. The detailed story of Udayana's marriage with princess Vāsavadattā of Avantī is found in the KSS of Somadeva and the BKM of Kṣemendra. But the father of Vāsavadattā and hence Udayana's contemporary king of Avantī, is not called Pradyota in these two works.[6] And the problem does not end here. If it did it would have made our task easier because then it would have been quite reasonable to assume that instead of the proper name, the title was given precedence in these two works, as the Svd of Bhāsa clarifies

1 Prd. prelude to Act I, p. 7; Rtv. Act. I, p. 20
2. Prd. Act III, pp. 53, 58.
3 Vvd. Act II, p. 25.
4. Vvd, Act II, p. 27.
5 Tvr, Act I, pp. 9, 23.
6. BKM, ii, ii, p. 46, Sl. 4; KSS, ii, Kthm L, T. 3, p. 32.

the mystery of the two names by saying that Pradyota was given the name of Mahāsena because of his large army.[1] But the Kashmirian BK tradition makes Pradyota a distinct individual and the contemporary ruler of Magadha.[2] He is the father of Padmāvatī who becomes the second wife of Udayana through the machinations of his astute minister Yaugandharāyaṇa.[3]

This marriage itself is the theme of two of the previously mentioned plays viz., the Tvr and the Svd and one of the other two viz, the Vvd even when not having this theme, alludes to Udayana's contemporary ruler of Magadha. It becomes necessary to see now what these authorities have to say on this controversial point.

The Svd of Bhāsa makes Padmāvatī the sister of Darśaka, Udayana's contemporary ruler of Magadha and does not mention the father of Padmāvatī at all[4]

It is clear from a conversation in the third act[5] of the Tvr that the author of this play thought on the same lines as Bhāsa, and believed Darśaka to be the king of Magadha in Udayana's times.

In the Vvd, while Pradyota is discussing with his ministers the merits of contemporary princes in connection with the marriage of Vāsavadattā, his minister Bharatarohaka points out that Darśaka, the king of Magadha is unsuitable as a bridegroom because he is reputed to be cruel.[6]

Now one most weighty testimony, confirming Padmāvatī's relationship with Darsaka who must be Udayana's contemporary king of Magadha, comes from a most unexpected source. While the two Kashmirian recensions of the BK, differing rarely from each other, name Pradyota as Udayana's contemporary king of Magadha and consequently the father of Padmāvatī, the Nepalese recension of the BK contradicts them and sides with the other testimonies. Although it does not relate the story of Udayana's marriages with Vāsavadattā and Padmāvatī, yet it names Prodyota as the king of Ujjayinī and hints

1. Svd, Act II, p. 43.
2. BKM, III, 3, p. 46, Sl. 93, KSS III, 1, p. 46, Sl 19
3. BKM, III, Lv. L. pp. 73-77; KSS, III, T 82-3, pp. 52-59
4. Svd, Act I, p. 14
5. Tvr, Act III, p. 39.
6. Vvd, Act I, p. 6.

at Darśaka's being the king of Magadha in Udayana's times. According to it, during Vāsavadattā's pregnancy, she experienced the 'dohada' of riding in an airchariot. It was with some difficulty that the ministers managed to fulfil her wish. Udayana and his two wives, riding in an airchariot which an unknown artisan made for them, made an aerial voyage. In the course of it, they visited successively Rājagṛha and Ujjayinī. 'Reaching the holy sky, they first proceeded in the eastern direction. There Darśaka noticed the machine, flying above his city. He was saluted by both Padmāvatī and Udayana. After having taken leave from him, the king ( Udayana ) rose up in the space by the way of the wind. Then Udayana went to Avantī where he had the machine stopped above the city. Pradyota was taken by surprise when he spotted the unusual object. While he was trying to find out what it was, the king of Vatsa dropped in front of him an epistle. Mahāsena took it up and read in it this message, 'O king, Udayana, the thief bows to you along with his wife.' Mahāsena on having read it, addressed his son-in-law, asking him to get down and assuring him of his goodwill......After having invited both the father-in-law to his kingdom, Udayana went back to Kauśāmbī.'[1]

Another passage in the BKSS suggests that Darśaka was Padmāvatī's brother.[2]

In the same work, Padmāvatī is often referred to as Māgadhī.[3] In the first chapter of the BKSS, the king of Avantī is called Mahāsena as well as Pradyota. He is said to have had two sons, Gopāla and Pālaka,[4] same as the Mahāsena of the Kashmirian tradition.

Later on, when Gopāla is installed as king, his ministers refer to his father as Pradyota[5].

In the two Kashmirian works are found references to another king whom the historians have unanimously accepted as a contemporary of Lord Buddha on the basis of the evidence of the Buddhist tradition. He is king Prasenajit of Kosala whose Capital was Śrāvastī.

1. BKSS, Canto V, pp. 73-75
2. *Ibid.*, Canto IV, p. 48.
3. *Ibid.*, Canto V, p. 63.
4. *Ibid.*, Canto I, p. 1.
5. *Ibid.*, Canto I, p. 5.

In the KSS, Kalingasenā, the daughter of king Kalingadatta of Takṣaśilā, is promised to king Prasenajit of Śrāvastī.[1]

This very Kalingasenā in the same work, later on, gets enamoured of king Udayana of Vatsa but is unable to marry him. Ultimately her daughter, Madanamañcukā, is married to Udayana's son, Naravāhanadatta.[2] Later on, this very Naravānanadatta meets king Prasenajit of Śrāvastī,[3] and gets married to his daughter.

But in the BKM, the exact name Prasenajit is not found. The corresponding character in Ksemendra's work is variously called Senājita, Śyenajita and Senājik and moreover, he is said to be the king of the Gauḍa country.[4]

But this king resides at Śrāvastī according to the BKM itself. In one manuscript is found the exact name, Śrāvastī.[5]

In the BKM also, being repelled by king Śyenajita's advanced age, Kalingsenā goes to Vatsa and gets attracted to Udayana. Here too, as in the KSS, she is unable to marry him but is happy eventually in the marriage of her daughter Madanamañcukā to Naravāhanadatta, the aforementioned son of Udayana.[6]

In the BKM also, we find a king, specifically called Prasenajit who meets Naravāhanadatta, as in the KSS. But he is made the king of Avantī.[7]

Now we know very well that according to the testimony of the BKM itself, the ruler of Avantī at that time could only have been Mahāsena or his successor Pālaka. It is not difficult to perceive therefore, that the BKM has somehow or other got confused about the name and kingdom of this king who is undoubtedly king Prasenajit of Śrāvastī as the KSS clearly states; and was equally undoubtedly a contemporary of Udayana according to the Kashmirian BK tradition. We don't find him mentioned in any other work concerned with Udayana, obviously because Kalingsenā herself in whose connec-

1. KSS, L vi, T. 4, p. 134, Sl. 23.
2. *Ibid.*, L vi, T. 8, p. 157.
3. *Ibid.*, L xiv, T. 2, pp. 502-503, Sls. 44-49.
4. BKM, vii, i, pp. 181-182.
5. *Ibid.*, vii, i, p. 186, Sl. 342.
6. *Ibid.*, vii, i, pp. 186-209.
7. *Ibid.*, xiii, p. 456, Sls. 83-84.

tion Prasenajit is mostly mentioned, is not dealt with in any of the other works except the BKSS where she is not a princess but a courtesan.[1]

Still the remarkable fact persists that both the KSS and the BKM, make Pradyota and Caṇḍamahāsena, two distinct royal personages; the former ruling in Magadha and the latter in Avantī, in Udayana's times. The difficulty increases when we find that in the dynastic list of the kings of Magadha, supplied by the Purāṇas, there is mentioned a king bearing the name of Pradyota.[2]

*The Purāṇic Pradyota*

The discrepancy in Udayana's age creeps in because according to the Purāṇas, this Pradyota was several generations prior to Bimbisāra and Ajātaśatru, who belonged to the Śaiśunāga dynasty and are unanimously accepted to be the contemporaries of Lord Buddha. Hence the Kashmirian BK tradition makes one doubt the generally accepted contemporaneity of Udayana with Lord Buddha as it maintains that Padmāvatī, the second wife of Udayana was the daughter of King Pradyota of Magadha whom the Purāṇas make several generations prior to Bimbisāra and Ajatasatru and hence to Lord Buddha. The question we are facing here is whether the testimony of KSS and the BKM is more weighty than all the other testimonies taken together.

In the Mt P and the Vs P, the name of the son and the successor of Pradyota, the king of Magadha is given as Pālaka or Balāka.[3] The Kashmirian BK tradition, however, gives him a different name, Siṃhavarmā. The brother of Padmāvatī and hence definitely the son of her father, king Pradyota of Magadha is neither Pālaka nor Balāka as the Purāṇic data inform us, it is Siṃhavarmā here, a name not found in the Purāṇic data.[4] Moreover, the Kashmirian tradition itself gives the name Pālaka to the son and successor of king Caṇḍamahāsena of Avantī. The fact that the name of Pradyota's son and hence the prince of Magadha is Siṃhavarmā, could perhaps have been explained away with the argument that

1. BKSS, Canto X, p. 128.
2. MtP, Chap 271 p 552.
3. Vs P, 4. 23, p. 199; MtP, Chap 271, p. 552.
4. KSS, iii, Tv, p. 72, Sl. 58; BKM, iii, p. 93.

perhaps he was a younger son of Pradyota of Magadha and not the future successor to the throne. But more important and inexplicable is the fact that Pālaka is the name given to the son of Caṇḍamahāsena of Avantī. If Pradyota of Magadha had a son named Pālaka who also happened to be the heir to the throne of Magadha, it is indeed a little curious that king Mahāsena of Avantī also gave to his son the name of Pālaka who succeeded to the throne of Avantī after his father's death; especially as Magadha and Avantī were two of the most and equally prominent states of that time. History presents no parallel example in which two would-be royal contemporaries of such exalted eminence are called by the same name. This coincidence seems rather unnatural, the least to say, and is rather hard to accept. Hence it makes one doubt the authenticity of the Kashmirian BK version.

All the scholars who have made a critical study of the recensions of the BK, maintain that the Nepalese recension is far more faithful to the original than the Kashmirian works.[1]

As we have seen before, Budhasvāmin in his BKSS has given to Udayana's contemporary king of Avantī, the name of Pradyota and although, nowhere, does he specifically say that the king of Magadha at that time was Darśaka, nevertheless there is a strong suggestion to that effect. It is enigmatic if taken alone by itself but becomes quite clear in the light of the Svd and the Tvr. It is obvious then that on this point, the BKSS differs from the Kashmirian recensions of the BK and sides with the other testimonies.

If the Kashmirian authors had only maintained that Padmāvatī was the daughter and not the sister of Udayana's contemporary king of Magadha, we would not have sought a quarrel with them for having been untruthful to the original version. But as Lacôte says, 'We overlook less easily the queerness of the name of Padmāvatī's father who was the king of Magadha when all the Buddhist and Jain legends attest that Pradyota was the king of Avantī in Udyana's times'.[2] According to the latter, Pālaka, the son of Pradyota, king of Avantī, ascended to his father's throne on the same night as the Nirvāṇa

1. Introduction, pp. 7-8.
2. 'S. V. B. J[9] A. (1919)

of Lord Mahāvīra.[1] Lacôte says that, 'it is true that the Purāṇas mention Pradyota and Pālaka among the kings who had reigned in Magadha during the periods which preceeded the reign of the Śiśunāgas but it is simply concerned with Pradyota of Avantī who had extended his suzerainty on Magadha and not with a local king. It is nothing but a fancy, considering the fact that the same Purāṇas give out Darśaka as the son of Ajātaśatru, the most illustrious king of Magadha in the dynasty of the Śiśunāgas; and that one sees from the BK, that Darśaka and Pradyota were living at the same epoch. It is, therefore, admitted that apart from the Kashmirian edition, Pradyota of Magadha, does not exist at all.'[2] It is obvious that Lacôte prefers to rely on the BKSS, believing it to be faithful to the original BK version.

We have, therefore, to contend with a blunder of the Kashmirian version of the BK. It can be reasonably concluded on the basis of the evidence of all the other relevant authorities that the BK legend reached Kashmir in a confused form and hence not much weight to be attached to the data offered by the Kashmirian BK tradition, when it differs from all other trustworthy testimonies available. A probable explanation of the blunder of the Kashmirian tradition is easy to find. As Lacote says, 'This ( Kashmirian ) version has for its origin, a very condensed summary of the BK.'[3] Probably this abridged summary of the BK did not give the name of the king of Magadha who was treated as an episodic personage. On the other hand, the king of Avantī was found burdened with two names, Pradyota and Mahāsena, the latter being a surname, added to the proper name Pradyota because of the strength of his army. Now, it is possible that the Kashmirian authors unconsciously blundered because of the confusing data in front of them. The father of Vāsavedattā was frequently designated by his surname Mahāsena and it has been adhered to by the Kashmirian version also. Then our Kashmirian compilers, prodably, found an expression somewhere signifying 'son-in-law of Pradyota- Mahāsena'. Then, they could well have interpreted it as 'son-in-law of Pradyota and of Mahasena' and pro-

1. Buhler, *Indian Antiquary*, II, pp. 362-363.
2 Lacôte : 'S. V. B.', J. A. (1919).
3. *Ibid.*

bably were led to believe that Pradyota was the name of the second father-in-law of Udayana who was Padmāvatī's father and the king of Magadha and for whom they were already in search of a name. This also explains how the Kashmirian tradition came to make the king of Magadha Udayana's father-in-law instead of his brother-in-law, as in the BKSS, Svd and Tvr.

Most of the available references, especially Sanskrit ones, describe Udayana as very young when his celebrated romance with Vāsavadattā took place. And, we can not doubt this statement when we have reason to believe that Vāsavadattā was Udayana's first wife. The Dh PA, of course, deals with Udayana's marriage with Sāmāvatī before discussing his romance with Vāsavadattā but it does not add that Sāmāvatī was senior to Vāsavadattā or that Udayana was unmarried before marrying the former. After describing the marriage of Sāmāvatī, it just says that 'Udayana had another wife, Vāsavadattā, the daughter of Caṇḍapajjota.'[1] It rather suggests that perhaps Vāsavadattā already was a member of Udayana's harem when Udayana brought Sāmāvatī in it. We can, therefore, safely assume that Udayana was very young when his first marriage with Vāsavadattā took place. Therefore he must have been much younger than his father-in-law, Pradyota who had a daughter of marriageable age at that time. Moreover, she was younger than the two sons of Pradyota, Gopāla and Pālaka.[2] The KSS and the BKM inform us that he was much younger than king Prasenajit of Śrāvastī. Kalingasenā, the princess of Takṣasilā was repelled by Prasenajit's advanced age but she was deeply enamoured of Udayana, as we have seen before.[3] Obviously, according to the Kashmirian BK tradition, Udayana was a considerably younger contemporary of Prasenajit of Śrāvastī and Pradyota of Avantī.

Now, we also know that Udayana married Padmāvatī sister of king Darśaka of Magadha who was an immediate successor to Ajātaśatru.[4] Udayana, therefore, must have

1 Dh PA, i, ii, Udv, pp 191-192.

2. KSS, ii, T 3. p 34, Sls 74-78; BKM ii. p. 48.

3. KSS, vi, T. 5, p. 134; BKM, v, p. 45.

4 Vy P, Chap. 37, p. 447, Mt P, Chap. 271, p. 552; VsP, 4, pp 23, 199.

survived both Bimbisāra and Ajātaśatru. The latter himself had survived Lord Buddha by eight years according to the Mahāvaṃsa.[1] Udayana, therefore, must have survived Lord Buddha. This fact is attested to by two Pali testimonies, the PVA and the Cullavagga.[2]

It is clear thus that Udayana was much younger than Pradyota, Bimbisāra and Prasenajit and most probably than the Buddha himself whom he must have survived by a good many years, as he survived even Ajātaśatru who in his turn had survived Lord Buddha by eight years.

Although the exact years of the birth and death of Lord Buddha are still subject to controversy, it has been generally agreed upon by the scholars of history that he lived in the sixth and fifth centuries B. C. somewhere in the last three quarters of the sixth century B. C.; the date of his Mahāparinirvāṇa varying between 487 B. C. and 477 B. C.[3] Udayana must have lived, therefore, somewhere in the latter half of the sixth and the first half of the fifth centuries B. C. Ancient Indian literature offers no clue with the help of which the exact years of his birth and death could be calculated. Still there are historians who try to be more exact about the chronology of king Udayana. Dr. Pradhan suggests that Udayana died in 490 B. C. with which Prof. N. N. Ghosh does not agree. The latter determines the chronology of Udayana's times as—

| | |
|---|---|
| Birth | 563 B. C. |
| Accession | 544 B. C. |
| Matrimonial alliance with Avantī | 543 B. C. |
| Birth of Bodhikumāra | 542 B. C. |
| Death | 482 B. C. |

Hovever, as Prof. Ghosh himself admits that all of it is based on conjectures only,[4] we had better reserve ourselves to the information found in the literary sources and content ourselves with asserting that Udayana was a younger contemporary of Lord Buddha.

### *Genealogy*

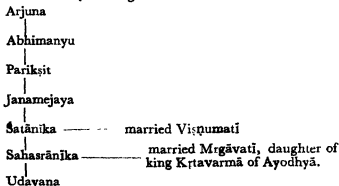
As befits the hero of many classical Sanskrit dramas, Udayana belonged to a very noble dynasty; in fact one of the

1. Mahavaṃsa, IV.
2. PVA, ii, 10, pp. 140-141; Vin. ii, p. 291.
3. Winternitz, HIL, Vol. II, appendix I.
4. N. N. Ghosh, EHK, on the Chronology of king Udayana, p. 33.

noblest of his times. All the relevant authorities agree that he was a scion of the Bharatakula to which belonged Arjuna and hence, also, all his descendents.

*The Kashmirian BK tradition*

The two Kashmirian recensions of the BK in keeping with this tradition, trace the descent of Udayana Vatsarāja from Arjuna Pāṇḍava. His father, when dead, is referred to as 'Pārthavaṃśya',[1] i. e., one belonging to the family of Pārtha, another common name of Arjuna, one of the Pāṇḍavas.

Both the KSS and the BKM, give an identical list of Udayana's ancestors, which goes thus.

Thus, according to the Kashmirian BK tradition, Udayana was a descendent of the illustrious Arjuna. He was the seventh king of his family, in descent from Arjuna. His father was Sahasrānīka, who was the son of Śatānīka and the grandson of Janamejaya.[2]

*The Bhāsa tradition*

Bhāsa in his two plays, makes numerous allusions to Udayana's noble lineage. In the Pry, when the Chamberlain of Pradyota reports to the latter the capture of Udayana, the king of Vatsa, a conversation takes place between the two which throws ample light on Udayana's genealogy. According to it, Udayana, the king of Kauśāmbī was the son of Śatānīka and the grandson of Sahasrānīka.[3]

1. BKM, ii, i, p. 45, Sl. 1.
2. BKM, ii, i, pp. 34-37; KSS, ii, T i, pp 24-26.
3. Pry, Act II, p. 56.

Later on, in the course of a conversation between Pradyota and his wife, it becomes clear that Udayana belonged to the noble Bhārata dynasty.[1]

Still further, Ghosavatī, the famous lute of Udayana is described as 'used by the members of Bharata's family and seen in the royal family of the kings of Vatsa.'[2]

At the close of the Pry, Yaugandharāyaṇa, in the course of a conversation with Bharatarohaka, a minister of Pradyota, refers to his master, Udayana as born in the Bhārata dynasty and the king of Vatsa.[3]

In the Svd, there is only one allusion to Udayana's family when Yaugandharāyaṇa, disguised as an old Brāhmaṇa, protests that it does not behove the king ( Udayana ) a descendant of Bharata, to kidnap by force his sister.[4]

It is evident, therefore, that Bhāsa firmly believed and depicted Udayana as belonging to the Bhārata dynasty. Thus, we find Bhāsa agreeing with the Kashmirian BK tradition, on the point of Udayana's lineage, for it claims Udayana to be a descendant of Arjuna who belonged to the Bhārata dynasty in his turn. But Bhāsa, in disagreement with the BKM and the KSS, gives to the father of Udayana, the name of Śatānīka and makes Sahasrānīka his grandfather.

*The Śrīharṣa tradition*

There is one single reference to Udayana's family in Śrīharsa's two plays but it is clear enough to show that he, like Bhāsa, ascribed to Udayana, the lineage of the Bharatakula. In the Rtv, when Udayana rushes headlong into the illusionary fire to rescue the heroine, Bābhravya, the chamberlain of the king of Siṃhala, laments at Udayana's thus jeopardising the continuation of the Bhārata race.[5]

*Other Sanskrit sources*

The Vvd and Tvr do not allude to Udayana's genealogy at all. There is one thing, however, noteworthy on this issue in the Vvd. It stoutly maintains that Udayana belonged

1. *Ibid.*, Act II, p. 60-61.
2. Pry, Act II, P. 61.
3. *Ibid.*, Act IV, P. 121 Sl. 18.
4. Svd, Act VI, P. 138, Sl. 16.
5. Rtv, Act IV, P. 186.

to a very noble family. We find Pradyota hesitating in choosing Udayana as a suitable bridegroom for Vāsavadattā because the latter is too proud of his noble birth and other qualities.[1]

The BKSS, though generally silent on the topic of Udayana's lineage, not because it has no definite opinion on this point, but obviously because it makes only incidental and fleeting references to Udayana in the story of his son Naravāhanadatta, tells us that Udayana was the son of king Śatānīka of Kauśāmbī. During Vāsavadattā's pregnancy, Udayana's mother relates to her the story of his birth. In the course of it, she repeatedly calls her husband by the name of Śatānīka.[2]

*The Pali tradition*

In the whole Pali literature, there is only a single reference to Udayana's family. The Dh PA gives to his father the name of Parantapa and makes him the king of Kosambī[3]. It is useful to note here, however, that the Tibetan Buddhist literature depicts Udayana as the son of king Śatānīka of Kauśāmbī.[4]

*The Prakrit tradition*

The Prakrit literature, unanimously, calls Udayana's father by the name of Sayāṇīa ( Śatānīka ), and adds that he was the king of Kosambī. In the Vtk, Kosāmbī is described as 'where Udayana, son of Sayāṇīa became the king of the Vaccha.'[5]

In the KPP also,[6] Udayaṇa is said to be the son of king Sayāṇīa of Kosambī and his wife Migāvaī.

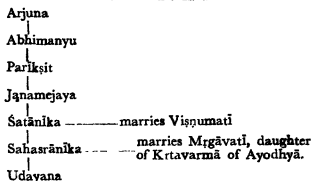
The Prk, a Sanskrit work of the Jainas, names amidst Udayana's ancestors, Śāntanu, Vicitravīrya, Pāṇḍu, Arjuna, Abhimanyu, Parīkṣit and Janamejaya. According to it, Sahasrānīka, the father of Śatānīka and consequently the grandfather of Udayana belonged to the family of Ṛṣabha, in which were born all the aforementioned illustrious personages.[7]

1. Vvd, Act I, p. 7.
2. BKSS. Canto V, p. 56.
3. Dh PA, i, ii, Udv, p. 164.
4. Rockhill, *Life of Buddha*, p. 17.
5. Vtk, 12 Ksbnk, p. 23.
6. KPP, *Mṛgāvatīkathā*, p. 233.
7. Prk, 19 Vrd Pr, p. 86.

Looking at all these testimonies with a critical eye, it is not difficult to perceive that Udayana was one of the king of the Vatsa country whose Capital was Kauśāmbī. The Sanskrit data add that he belonged to the Bhārata dynasty and was a direct descendant of Arjuna, one of the illustrious Pāṇḍavas. At this juncture, it becomes necessary to consult the Purāṇas.

*The Purāṇic evidence*

The name of king Udayana of Kauśāmbī occurs in three of the Purāṇas. These are the Mt, Vs and Sk Purāṇas. The dynastic list of Udayana's ancestors as found in the Sk P[1] is similar to that of the BKM and the KSS:

Arjuna
|
Abhimanyu
|
Parīkṣit
|
Janamejaya
|
Śatānīka ———— marries Viṣṇumatī
|
Sahasrānīka —— marries Mṛgāvatī, daughter of Kṛtavarmā of Ayodhyā.
|
Udayana

The Mt P places Udayana amongst the descendants of Arjuna but makes him the son of Śatānīka ( II ), twenty fourth in descent from Arjuna;[2] whereas in the Sk P as also in the Kashmirian BK tradition, he is the seventh king from Arjuna.

According to the Vs P, Udayana is the son of Śatānīka ( II ), as in the Mt P but he is the twenty fifth king in descent from Arjuna.[3] This difference between the Mt P and the Vs P arises because whereas the latter places Aśvamedhadatta between Śatānīka ( I ) ( not the father of Udayana ) and Adhisīmakṛṣṇa, the former makes Adhisomakṛṣṇa a direct successor to Śatānīka I. According to the MtP, Adhisomakṛṣṇa himself was born as a result of the Aśvamedha sacrifices performed by his father Śatānīka ( I ) and, therefore, Aśvamedhadatta was no separate person. Apart from this slight differ-

1. Sk P, III, I, 5, Sls. 34-164, pp. 10-12.
2. Mt P, Chap. 50, Sls. 56-88, pp. 392-396.
3. Vs P, 4, 20, pp. 197, 198.

ence, there is a remarkable similarity between the data given by these two Purāṇas. But we are not to forget that other Puraṇas while dealing with the descendants of Arjuua, do not mention Udayana as one of them. We give below the dynastic lists of Arjuna's descendants as found in the Vy P[1] and the Smd P,[2] two of the most important of the rest of the Purāṇas and prepare a comparative list of the Bhāi ata dyansty.

| Vs P | Mt P |
|---|---|
| 1. Janamejaya | 1. Janamejaya |
| 2. Śatānīka ( I ) | 2. Śatānīka ( I ) |
| 3. Aśvamedhadatta | 3. Adhisomakrṣṇa |
| 4. Adhisīmakrṣṇa | 4. Vivakṣu |
| 5. Nicaknu | 5. Bhūri |
| 9. Uṣṇa | 6. Citraratha |
| 7. Vicitraratha | 7. Śucidrava |
| 8. Śuciratha | 8. Vrṣṇimān |
| 9. Vṛṣṇimān | 9. Suṣeṇa |
| 10. Suṣeṇa | 10. Sunītha |
| 11. Sunītha | 11. Nrcaksu |
| 12. Nrcakṣu | 12. Sukhībala |
| 13. Sukhibala | 13. Parisṇava |
| 14. Pāriplava | 14. Sutapā |
| 15. Sunaya | 15. Medhāvī |
| 16. Medhāvī | 16. Purañjaya |
| 17. Ripuñjaya | 17. Urva |
| 18. Urva | 18. Tigmātmā |
| 19. Tigma | 19. Brhadratha |
| 20. Bṛhadratha | 20. Vasudāmā |
| 21. Vasudāsa | 21. *Śatānīka* ( II ) |
| 22. *Śatānīka* ( II ) | 22. *Udayana* |
| 23. *Udayana* | 23. *Vahīnara* |
| 24. *Vihīnara* | 24. Daṇḍapāṇi |
| 25. Daṇḍapāṇi | 25. Nirāmitra |
| 26. Nimitta | 26. Kṣemaka |
| 27. Kṣemaka | |

1. Vy P, Chap. 37, p. 441.
2. Smd P, IX 22, pp. 99-100

| Vy P | Smd P |
|---|---|
| 1. Janamejaya | 1. Janamejaya |
| 2. Śatānīka | 2. Śatānīka ( I ) |
| | 3. Sahasrānīka |
| 3. Aśvamedhadatta | 4. Aśvamedhaja |
| 4. Adhisāmakṛṣṇa | 5. Asīmakṛṣṇa |
| 5. Nirvaktra | 6. Nemicakra |
| 6. Uṣṇa | |
| 7. Citraratha | 7. Citraratha |
| 8. Śucidratha | 8. Kaviratha |
| 9. Dhṛtimān | 9. Vṛṣtimān |
| 10. Suṣeṇa | 10. Suseṇa |
| 11. Sutīrtha | 11. Sunītha |
| 12. Ruca | |
| 13. Tṛicakṣa Trivakṣa | 12. Nṛcakṣu |
| 14. Sukhībala Sudhībala | 13. Sukhīnala |
| 15. Pariplutа Pariplava | 14. Pariplava |
| 16. Sunaya | 15. Sunaya |
| 17. Medhāvī | 16. Medhāvī |
| | 17. Nṛpañjaya |
| | 18. Dūrva |
| | 19. Timi |
| | 20. Bṛhadratha |
| | 21. Sudāsa |
| | 22. *Śatānīka* ( II ) |
| | 23. *Durdamana* |
| | 24. *Vahīnara* |
| 18. Daṇḍapāṇi | 25. Daṇḍapāṇi |
| 19. Nirāmitra | 26. Nimi |
| 20. Kṣemaka | 27. Kṣemaka |

Looking critically at this list we notice a remarkable similarity between the names and the order of the names. How is it then that the Vy P and Smd P do not give the name of Udayana at the place where the Vs P and Mt P place him ? Udayana is found in the latter two between Śatānīka (II) and Vahīnara ( Vihīnara in the Vs P ). We find in the Smd P a king named Durdamana between Śatānīka (II) and Vahīnara. The predecessors and successors of this Durdamana are almost the same as those of Udayana in the Vs P and the Mt P, in fact the successors

are exactly the same. Is it not reasonable to assume then, in the absence of any other testimony, that Udayana of the Mt P and the Vs P has, somehow, been turned into Durdamana in the Smd P ? Perhaps Udayana had two names,—one a proper one and the other a title. Or by some mysterious process, in the results of which the Purāṇas abound, Udayana has changed into Durdamana in the Smd P.

The absence of 'Udayana' among the Bhārata kings in the Vy P is also quite understandable. In disagreement with the other three Purāṇas quoted, the Vy P makes Daṇḍapāṇi an immediate successor to Medhāvī while the other Purāṇas place eight kings including Udayana, between these two. When there is a majority of three against one and there is no other decisive information available, it seems rational to conclude that the Vy P has, somehow or other, left out the names of these eight kings between Medhāvī and Daṇḍapāṇi.

Dr. K. P. Jayaswal, however, has faith in the list given by the Vy P and maintains Udayana to be a direct successor to Paripluta. His reason for this conclusion is that the father of Udayana is called Parantapa in the Dh PA. Noticing that excepting this one minor exception, the father of Udayana is generally called Śatānīka or Sahasrānīka ( in the Kashmirian BK tradition ), he assumes that Śatānīka was the title name of Udayana's father whose proper name was Paripluta-Parantapa. He identifies Sunaya with Udayana and believes that Bodhirājakumāra, mentioned as the son of Udayana in the Buddhist literature appears under the name Medhāvī in the Purāṇas. In his opinion, 'the Viṣṇu inserts five names after Medhāvī and duplicates Udayana along with his father and four later generations. The Viṣṇu had evidently two versions of the names to draw upon and introduced both making the list longer.'[1]

Dr. Jayaswal, however, forgets that there is the testimony of three Purāṇas to be weighed against the one of the Vy P. Two of them, give the very name 'Udayana', not making it necessary to find out some similarity between 'Sunaya' and 'Udayana'. The names of the immediate predecessor

1. K. P. Jayaswal, '*The Plays of Bhasa and king Darśaka of Magadha*', ( J. A. S. B., Vol. 34 ).

and successor are also remarkably the same in all the three. Moreover, when the very name Śatānīka is given, is it necessary to seek out an identification between 'Parantapa' and 'Paripluta'? Even having confidence in the data supplied by the Dh PA and believing that the proper name of Udayana's father was 'Parantapa' and 'Śatānīka' was only a title which eclipsed the proper name, it seems more probable that the title name was given in the Purāṇas instead of the proper name and that Śatānīka ( II ) had for his proper name, the name Parantapa. However, as all these arguments are based on conjectures and not on solid proofs, nothing absolutely conclusive can be asserted on this controversial point.

We have seen previously that the list of Udayana's ancestors as given in the KSS and the BKM, is not in accordance with the general Purāṇic data. However, on looking at the list of Arjuna's descendants in the Sk P, it becomes obvious that the Kashmirian authors utilised the same version of the Udayana legend. These three works do not place so many generations between Janamejaya and Udayana. According to them, Janamejaya was the great grandfather of Udayana. There is one factor, however, which makes us decide in favour of the general Purāṇic account. According to the Sk P and the Kashmirian BK recensions, Udayana is only the seventh king from Arjuna Pāṇḍava. Now, it is a well known fact that Arjuna was living at the time of the great Mahābhārata war, in fact he was a very important participant in it. The date of the Great war is still debatable but it is, generally, estimated to have taken place in about 1000 B. C.[1] Now we have just seen that Udayana flourished somewhere in the latter half of the 6th century B. C. as he was a junior contemporary of Lord Buddha. Thus there is a difference of at least four centuries between Arjuna and his descendant Udayana. If we are to place any credence in the genealogical list of Udayana's predecessors as given in the Sk P and the Kashmirian BK recensions, we shall have to ascribe to the four rulers between Arjuna and Udayana, ( as Abhimanyu was unfortunately killed in the great war itself ) an average reigning period of about one hundred years which is rather hard to accept.

1. R. C. Majumdar *Ancient India*, p. 74.

Now, if we are to accept the general Purāṇic data, even counting the kings who are mentioned only in one or other of the four Purāṇas that we are consulting, we find Udayana to be the twenty-fourth king from Janamejaya. It means, excluding Abhimanyu, twentyfive kings reigned between Arjuna and Udayana according to the Purāṇas under consideration. These twentyfive kings between themselves covered a span of at least four centuries, which seems quite acceptable as it ascribes to each an average reigning period of sixteen years.

Another point can be brought forth to show that the general Purāṇic account is more trustworthy than that supplied by the Sk P and the Kashmirian BK recensions. We have seen before that Udayana was a younger cotemporary of king Prasenajit of Śrāvastī. According to the Vs P, Prasenajit of Ikṣvāku race was the twentyfifth king from Bṛhadbala who was a contemporary of Arjuna and Abhimanyu in the Great war.[1] According to the general Purāṇic data, Udayana was the twentysixth king from Abhimanyu. But according to the SkP and the Kashmirian BK tradition, Udayana was the sixth king from Abhimanyu. Of these two versions, it seems more reasonable to accept the former data of Udayana's descent from Abhimanyu, in view of the fact of Udayana's previously established contemporaneity with Prasenajit of Kośala.

Moresoever, we are to remember that though the Kashmirian BK tradition along with the Sk P, makes Udayana the son of Sahasrānīka and the grandson of Śatānīka; it would have us believe that Kauśāmbī was the capital of these Bharata kings, whereas, according to the other four Purāṇas viz., the Mt P, Vs P, Smd P and the Vy P, it was at least the third king from Śatānīka who changed the capital from Hastināpura to Kauśāmbī. The Sk P and the Kashmirian BK recensions offer no explanation of how Kauśāmbī became the capital of the descendants of Arjuna instead of Hastināpura.

These discrepancies make us reject the account of Udayana's genealogy as found in the Sk P and the Kashmirian BK tradition. The inaccuracy is understandable, however. There are two Śatānīkas in Udayana's family-tree,—one the direct

1. Vs P, 4. 20, p. 198

successor to Janamejaya, and the other the twenty third king from Janamejaya. Obviously the compiler of the Sk P and the authors of the KSS and the Bk M got confused between the two of them.

*Udayana's father : Śatānīka or Sahasrānīka ?*

What is more difficult to understand, is the fact that these works make Śatānīka (I) the grandfather of Udayana and not his father. The Pry of Bhāsa retains Śatānīka as the name of Udayana's father and makes Sahasrānīka his grandfather. Similar is the account of the Prk. The Purāṇas generally give to the grandfather of Udayana, different names—Vasudāmā, Vasudāsa or Sudāsa. The BKSS, the Vtk and the KPP name Udayana's father 'Śatānīka' but do not mention his grandfather. Here, too, the BKSS differs from its sister recensions and sides with the rest of the testimonies. As the BKSS is generally accepted to be more faithful to the original BK than the Kashmirian recensions, it is reasonable to conclude that perhaps the Kashmirian authors like the writer of the Sk P, got confused between the two Śatānīkas. As the successor and son of Śatānīka (I) was, according to one tradition, (which the Smd P followed) Sahasrānīka and as this order of names for a pair of father and son is a most appealing one, Sahasrānīka was accepted between Śatānīka and Udayana. Bhāsa, evidently, was conversant with this form of the legend, but being sure that Udayana's father was Śatānīka and not Sahasrānīka, he reversed the order and made Sahasrānīka Udayana's grandfather. Rājaśekhara Sūri, author of the Prk, was either influenced hy Bhāsa or he blundered in a similar way. Absence of any other cogent explanation lends strength to this conjecture. The Dh PA gives to Udayana's father the name of 'Parantapa'. But we know that the Tibetan Buddhist literature calls Udayana, the son of king Śatānīka of Kauśāmbī. It is possible, therefore, to accept Dr. Jayaswal's contention that the proper name of Udayana's father was Parantapa and Śatānīka meaning, 'one of a hundred splendours' was his title. The title-name became more popular and ultimately overshadowed the proper name as in the case of the celibrated king, Vikramāditya, the patron of Kālidāsa. Dr. Jayaswal thinks that this king 'Parantapa' can be identified with 'Paripluta' who was according to the Vy P, the fifteenth

king from Janamejaya. But as we have discussed above, it is merely a conjecture. A more reasonable proposition is to identify Śatānīka, the father of Udayana with Śatānīka (II) of the Bhārata dynasty, assuming that in the Purāṇas as in most of the literary works, the title name has completely eclipsed the proper name.

So, we can now draw a list of Udayana's ancestors according to the Purāṇic data and accepting each and every name in the Purāṇas, thus :

1. Janamejaya–the great-grandson of Arjuna.
2. Śatānīka (first).
3. Sahasrānīka (mentioned only in the Smd P).
4. Aśvamedhadatta—Aśvamedhaja ( not mentioned in the Mt P ).
5. Adhisīmakṛṣṇa——Adhisomakṛṣṇa——Adhisāmakṛṣṇa—— Asīmakṛsṇa ( the Mt P and the Vy P claim themselves to have been composed in his times ).
6. Nicaknu–Vivaksu–Nirvaktra–Nemicakra ( who changed his capital to Kauśāmbī when Hastināpura was washed away by the Ganges ).
7. Usṇa–Bhūri ( not mentioned in the Smd P ).
8. Vicitraratha–Citraratha.
9. Śucidrava–Śuciratha–Śucidratha–Kaviratha.
10. Vrsṇimān–Vṛstimān–Dhṛtimān.
11. Suseṇa.
12. Sunītha–Sutīrtha.
13. Ruca (mentioned only in the Vy P ),
14. Nrcaksu–Tricaksa–Trivakṣa.
15. Sukhibala–Sukhībala–Sudhībala–Sukhīnala.
16. Parisṇava–Pāriplava–Paripluta–Pariplava.
17. Sutapā–Sunaya.
18. Medhāvī.
19. Purañjaya–Ripuñjaya–Nṛpañjaya ( not found in the Vy P ).
20. Urva–Dūrva ( not in Vy P ).
21. Tigmātmā–Tigma–Timi ( not in Vy P).
22. Bṛhadratha (not in Vy P ).
23. Vasudāmā–Vasudāsa–Sudāsa (not in Vy P ).
24. *Śatānīka* (II) ( not in Vy P ).
25. *Udayana–Durdamana* ( not in Vy P ).

26. *Vahīnara–Vihīnara* ( not in Vy P ).
27. Daṇḍapāṇi.
28. Nirāmitra–Nimitta–Nimi.
29. Kṣemaka.

*Śatānīka (II),–the father af Udayana*

Not much worthwhile information is found in ancient Indian literature about the father of Udayana. According to the Kashmirian BK recensions and the Sk P, Yugandhara was his minister, Vipratīka-Supratīka or Supratīpa, his commander-in-chief and Vallabha, his friend. He married Mṛgāvatī, daughter of king Kṛtavarmā of Ayodhyā. He was separated from her for fourteen years on account of a curse that the celestial nymph, Tilottamā had given to him when he spurned her amorous advances.[1] Except the Dh PA, all the other authorities agree that he was reunited to his wife and son in the long run whom he brought back to Kauśāmbī.

According to a Jain tradition recorded in the Yogaśāstra of Hemcandrācārya, Śatānīka, the king of Kauśāmbī and the father of Udayana, attacked and conquered Campā. The vanquished king fled away and his elephant, horses and treasury were taken to Kauśāmbī by Śatānīka[2].

The Jain Mṛgāvatī legend tells us that Śatānīka died of acute dysentry, when Pradyota of Avantī marched against him[3].

*Udayana's Mother*

The BK tradition and the Jain tradition both name Udayana's mother, Mṛgāvatī. According to the Kashmirian BK tradition, she was the daughter of king Kṛtavarmā of Ayodhyā.[4] The BKSS gives to her an almost identical name, Mṛgayāvatī, but it is silent about her family.[5] Bhāsa would have us believe that Udayana's mother was a princess of Videha because in the Svd, the visiting Chamberlain of Mahāsena, calls Udayana 'Vaidehīputra', i. e., the son of Vaidehī.[6]

1. BKM, ii, i, pp. 34-35; KSS, ii, T. i, pp. 25-26; Sk P, iii, i, 5.
2. *Yogaśāstra, Sulasākathānaka*, p. 262.-264, pp. 35-36, p 25 Sl 29
3. KPP, *Mṛgāvatīkathā*, p. 233.
4. BKM, ii, i; KSS, ii, i, ii, i, 5.
5. BKSS, v, pp. 62-63.
6. Svd, Act VI, p 127.

The Pali Udayana legend does not offer any information about identity of Udayana's mother.

The Prakrit literature confirms the BK tradition that Mṛgāvatī was the name of Udayana's mother. The Vtk[1] describes Udayana as 'Migāvaīkukkhisaṃbhavo', i. e., born from the womb of Migāvaī (Mṛgāvatī). The KPP[2] and the Prk[3] also call her Migāvaī–Mṛgāvatī. But in contradiction with the Sanskrit testimonies, the Jain Mṛgāvatī legend, makes her the daughter of king Cetaka of the Vaisālī Republic. Thus according to it, she was the sister of Triśalā, Lord Mahāvīra's mother.

Thus, it is evident on the basis of the data available that whereas on his father's side, Udayana belonged to the noble dynasty of Arjuna, his father and grandfather respectively being Śatānīka (II) and Vasudāmā–Vasudāsa–Sudāsa of that dynasty; on his mother's side too, he was related to an equally noble family which could have been any of the royal families of Ayodhyā, Videha or Vaiśālī. In the absence of a more conclusive testimony, it is safer not to decide in favour of any of these particular royal families as being the family of Mrgāvatī, the mother of Udayana.

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1. Vtk, 12 Ksbnk, p. 23.
2. KPP, *Mṛgāvatīkathā*, p. 233.
3. Prk, 19 Vrd Pr, p. 86.

# CHAPER II

## BIRTH, EARLY LIFE AND PERSONALITY

### *Sources*

Detailed accounts of Udayana's birth and early life are found in all the three streams of ancient Indian literature, viz., Sanskrit, Pāli and Prākrit. Fortunately, these accounts are curiously similar as far as the broad main points of the legend are concerned, but there are various points of difference too. Besides, as is usual in the case of legends dealing with persons living in such remote periods of Indian history as the 6th century B. C., there is a lot of mythology and imagery added to the genuine facts.

What is more important for our study, however, is a surprisingly similar framework in the structure of these different versions. The differences can, however, be resolved only on making a close examination of all the different accounts.

### *Birth*

We have concluded in the preceeding chapter, on the basis of the information available so far that Udayana's father was king Śatānīka of Kauśāmbī and his mother was Mṛgāvatī. We are supplied with details of his birth by seven sources, viz., the BKM, the KSS, the BKSS, the Sk P, the Dh PA, the MNA and the Jain Mṛgāvatī legend. The two Kashmirian BK recensions and the Sk P give a closely similar version on the one hand while those of the Dh PA and MNA are almost identical although the latter is rather brief. Thus we find four versions of the same episode, viz., Udayana's birth.

### *The Kashmirian BK recensions and the Sk P accounts*

The BKM, the KSS and the Sk P give the following account of Udayana's birth, 'During her pregnancy, Mṛgāvatī, the mother of Udayana, experienced the 'dohada' of bathing in a tank full of blood. In order to fulfil her wish when it was made known to him, her husband had prepared a tank which was filled with water, coloured red with the help of dyes. But when the queen was bathing in it, she was mistaken for a piece

of meat by a monster-bird, because of her misleading appearance at that moment. The bird pounced at her and snatching her between the paws, flew away with her to a far away place on the Udayācala. However, when the bird came to realise that she was a living being, it left her slone. The poor queen was so dejected that she wanted to die, but no wild beast would touch her. She was, however, rescued by a disciple of the sage, Jamadagni, when he located her because of her lamentations. She was led to the hermitage where in due course of time, she gave birth to a handsome son. At the very time of his birth, a divine voice from the heavens, named him Udayana, forecasting his noble future.[1]

*The BKSS Version*

In the BKSS, the story is told by Udayana's mother, who was relating it to her daughters-in-law, Vāsavadattā and Padmāvatī once, during Vāsavadattā's pregnancy, 'During my pregnancy, my husband Śatānīka enquired of me my 'dohada', which I confided to him with great difficulty. He, with the help of his ministers, made arrangements for its fulfilment. Putting on red garments and red embellishments, with a red umbrella shading me and surrounded by attendents who were also putting on red clothes and thus were giving the semblance of a forest of red Aśoka trees, I toured the city riding in a red carriage. Because of the red hue, a monster-bird, taking me for a luscious piece of meat, flew away with me, in front of the very eyes of my husband, Śatānīka. It dropped me at some unknown place but was checked from eating me by two disciples of sage Vasiṣṭha. They guided me to their hermitage where Vasiṣṭha put my mind at rest and gave me shelter. In the tenth month, I gave birth to yonr husband, under an auspicious conjunction of stars. Vasiṣṭha gave to my son, the name of 'Udayana' as he was born on the Udaya mountains.'[2]

*The DhPA account*

The Dh PA account of Udayana's birth is interestingly different.

'Parantapa, the king of Kosambī, was one day sitting out in the open air, basking himself in the rays of the newly risen

1. BKM, II Kthm L, pp. 35-37; KSS, II Kthm L, T. I, Sk P III, 1, 5, pp. 11-12.
2. BKSS, V, pp. 56-57.

sun and beside him, sat his pregnant queen. She was wearing the king's cloak, a crimson blanket worth a hundred thousand kahāpaṇas; and as she sat there conversing with the king, she removed from the king's finger the royal signet, also worth a hundred thousand kahāpaṇas, and slipped it on her own.

Just at that moment, a monster-bird with a bill as big as an elephant trunk, came roaring through the air. Mistaking the queen for a piece of meat, he swooped down, spreading his wings. When the king heard the bird sweep down, he sprang to his feet and entered the royal palace. But, the queen was unable to make haste on account of her heaviness and timid nature. The bird pounced upon her, caught her up in the cage of his talons and soared away with her into the air.

The queen inspite of her fear at being carried away by the bird, kept her presence of mind and thought to herself, 'Animals stand in great fear of human voice. Therefore if I cry out, the bird will drop me instantly which will only result in mine and my child's death. If, however, I wait until he settles somewhere and begins to eat, then I can make a noise and frighten him away.' Therefore, wisely she kept patience and endured.

Now there stood at that time in the Himālaya regions, a banyan tree which, although of brief growth, had attained great size and was like a pavilion in form. To this tree, the bird took the queen, lodged her in its fork and watched the path leading to the tree. ( It is the nature of these birds to watch the path leading to their tree. ) The queen, thinking this to be an opportune moment, raised both her hands, clapped them together and by shouting, frightened the bird away.

At the sunset, the pains of labour started and at the same time, from all the four quarters of heaven arose a great storm. The delicate queen, half dead with fear, did not sleep a wink throughout the night. As the night grew bright, the clouds scattered and the dawn came, her child was born. Because the child was born at the '*utu*' of a storm, at the '*utu*' of a mountain and at the '*utu*' of the sun, she named her son 'Udena'.

Not far from that place was the residence of ascetic Allakappa, who on rainy days, used to go to that very tree, gather up the bones that the bird left there and utilise them for his food. On that day also, therefore, he went there to collect the bones.

As he was picking up the bones at the foot of the tree, he heard the sound of a child in the branches above. Looking up, he spotted the queen, whom he asked to come down. At first, she was doubtful about accepting his offer but after satisfying herself that he was of the same warrior caste as she, she asked him to climb up and take down her son. Afterwards, she herself climbed down and was conducted to his hermitage, where he cared for her tenderly.[1]

*The Jain Mṛgāvatī legend version of Udayana's birth*

'Mṛgāvatī was the daughter of king Ceṭaka of the Vaiśālī Republic and the chief consort of king Śatānīka of Kauśāmbī. Once, during her pregnancy, she had the desire ( dohada ) of bathing in a tank full of blood. The minister of Śatānīka, through his wisdom, coloured the water of a tank bloodred with the help of red dyes. Thus the queen had her 'dohada' fulfilled by bathing in that tank. But when she was coming out of the water after having had her bath, a huge Bhāraṇḍa bird who had been flying in the sky at that time, pounced on her mistaking her for a piece of meat because of the red hue of her body at that time and took her away in the sky.

'Thus, king Śatānīka and queen Mṛgāvatī were tragically separated. The Bhāraṇḍa bird threw away Mṛgāvatī in some distant forest, where she was rescued by a sage who took her to his hermitage and gave her refuge. There, when the time came, she delivered a son who was named Udayana.'[2]

On comparing the four versions of Udayana's birth, we find a striking similarity in all of them. All maintain that during her pregnancy, Udayana's mother was mistaken for a piece of meat by a monster bird, who snatching her away, took her to some far off land, where Udayana was born, away from his father's royal mansions at Kauśāmbī and without his father's knowledge.

Yet there are many points of difference between these various versions of Udayana's birth, apart from the main fact cited above. These will be discussed one by one.

The difference about the identity of Udayana's father has already been discussed in the preceding chapter[3] and it has

1. Dh PA, ii, i-Udv, pp. 164-166.
2. Nahata, Ss kā Mṛgv Rj, Mrgv R, Khaṇḍa 1.
3. Chap II, Age and genealogy, pp. 61-64.

been concluded that Udayana was the son of king Śatānīka-Parantapa of Kauśāmbī.

Secondly, whereas the BKM, the KSS, the Sk P and the Jain Mṛgāvatī legend insist that Mṛgāvatī was mistaken for a piece of meat by the bird, while she was taking her bath in a tank full of blood-red water, prepared by the orders of her husband in order to fulfil her 'dohada'; the Dh PA and the BKSS maintain that she gave the semblance of a piece of meat because she was enwrapped in a red blanket. The Dh PA does not have any mention of a 'dohada' on the part of Udayana's mother but the BKŚS does contain one. Which of these versions is authentic, cannot be decided until we can find some other decisive testimony. As is quite natural in the case of orally preserved traditions, the legend of Udayana's birth developed into forms differing in the minor details, in different places.

The next difference is about the identity of the sage who rescued Udayana's mother from her plight. According to the BKM, the KSS and the Sk P, Mṛgāvatī was given refuge by the sage Jamadagni but the BKŚS gives the credit to Vasiṣṭha, the family priest of the race of Rāma. The Dh PA says he was an ascetic called Allakappatāpasa because of his name 'Allakappa-rājā' when he was the king of the 'Allakappa-raṭṭha'.[1] The Mṛgāvatī legend of the Jains cannot help us much here for the Mṛga, the only work of Prakrit which deals with this topic is not available. In resolving this difference of opinion, difficulty arises about the identity of the hermit. It should, however, suffice to know that Udayana's mother was rescued from her plight by some hermit who gave her refuge in his hermitage. The name and other details about the aforesaid rescuer are not so material here.

The Dh PA stands up against all the other works in maintaining that the birth of Udayana had already taken place in the night when his mother was spotted by the God-sent rescuer. On the other hand all the other authorities agree that Udayana was born in the hermitage of the sage sometimes after Mṛgāvatī was led there by the disciples of the sage. However, as the Sanskrit and Prakrit legends side together against the Dh PA

1. Dh PA, i. ii–Udv, pp. 161–166.

which maintains that Udayana's birth took place in the absence of any human help, we can safely decide in favour of the version which the majority of the testimonies offer us.

*The place of Udayana's birth*

Now about the location of the place where Udayana was born and brought up by his mother, a conjecture can be made. According to the Sanskrit tradition, it must have been somewhere on the Udayācala as that was the place where the bird deposited Mrgāvatī.[1]

An account of a Burmese tradition prevalent about the Kyauksé district in upper Burma is given by R. Grant Brown in his article entitled "Udeinna the Elephant-tamer." According to it, 'Udeinna is said to have been born at Indaing, two miles north of Kyauksé, after his mother the Kethāni queen was carried away by a monstrous bird from the palace at Kawthambi ( Kosambi ) and dropped into a banyan tree. The original tree is said to have disappeared within the last five years.'[2]

The legendary Udayācala is 'the eastern mountain behind which the sun, moon, etc. are supposed to rise'.[3] Therefore, the Sanskrit tradition makes us more inclined to put our faith in the Burmese tradition, for Burma is situated in the far eastern direction from India and a place supposed to be situated on the Udaya mountain behind which the sun and the moon rise can reasonably be accepted to be situated in Burma. The Dh PA raises no difficulty in our accepting this tradition as according to it, the place was somewhere in the Himālaya range where the bird deposited Mrgāvatī. This very comprehensive designation can certainly take in Indaing where, according to the Burmese tradition, Udayana was born and spent his childhood with his mother. Therefore, we can safely accept 'Indaing', two miles north from Kyauksé as the place where Udayana's birth took place and where he grew up.

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1. BKM, II Kthm L, p, 37, Sl. 44;
   KSS, II Kthm L, T. I, p. 25. Sl 55;
   Sk P, III, 1, 5, Sl. 113, p. 11;
   BKŚS, V, Sl. 108.
2. J. R. A. S., Vol. 69, 1916, Article XIII, *The Lady of the weir.*
3. V. S. Apte's *Sanskrit English Dictionary*, p. 304,

*Udayana, the name*

Various interesting explanations are given as to why our hero was named 'Udayana' at his birth. The Sanskrit tradition maintains that he was named Udayana because he was born on the Udaya mountains.[1] But the Pali tradition explains it differently. Even the Dh PA passage[2] which gives an explanation of the name Udena, has been variously explained by scholars. The controversy centres round the word '*utu*.' Whereas Burlingame takes this to mean 'time'[3], Malalasekera thinks it means 'storm', 'The child was born in a storm ( *utu* ? ) hence the name Udena.'[4] Prof. N. N. Ghosh interprets the passage in a very curious and inexplicable way; 'To the son she gave the name of Udayana, because by his birth she had experienced the three seasons, the cold season, the hot season and the rainy season'.[5] The Dh PA statement, certainly, dose not warrant this interpretation. This noval explanation of Udayana's name is not found any where else. Obviously Prof. Ghosh has misinterpreted the Dh PA passage.

It is quite probable that '*utu*' in this context means 'rising up' By the '*utu*' of the mountain was meant perhaps, the rising of the mountains out of the clouds. Then the passage can satisfactorily be interpreted thus: 'She gave to her son the name of Udayana because at the time of his birth, the rising up (away) of the clouds, of the mountains and of the sun, all took place simultaneously.

The Tibetan Buddhist tradition, recorded in the Tibetan Dulva, offers another explanation of the name Udayana. According to it, 'The king of Kauśāmbī Śatānīka ( Dmag–bragya–ba ) had a son born to him at the same time (as Lord Buddha) and as the world was illuminated at his birth as with the sun, he was called Udayana ( Tchar-byed ).'[6]

The Chinese Buddhist tradition agrees with the Tibetan one in explaining the name 'Udayana' in the same way, 'Udayana-

1. Sk P, III, 1, 5, Sl. 124, p. 12;
   BKŚS, V, p. 57, Sl. 108.
2. Dh PA, i, ii–UdV. p. 165.
3. Burlingame, *Buddhist Legends*, Part I, p. 250.
4. Malalasekera, P. P. N. D., Vol. I, p. 191.
5. E. H. K., p. 12.
6. Rockhill, *The Life of Buddha*, p. 17.

Udena' is translated in Chinese by 'Ch'u-ai' 'Yielding affection'; but it is also rendered by 'Ch'u-kueng' 'Yielding brightness;' by 'jih-tzu'—'the sun'; and 'jih-chu' or 'jih-ch 'u'—both meaning 'sunrise'.[1]

We have no method by which to decide on the most suitable of these explanations of the name Udayana. However, it has been stated before that the Tibetan tradition claiming 'Udayana' to have been born at the same time as 'Lord Buddha' cannot be authentic.[2] We can, thus, rule out the Tibetan and the Chinese explanations specially as the Pali tradition differs from them on this point. Of the Sanskrit and Dh PA explanation on this point, both seem reasonable and hence acceptable.

### *Early Life*

Various details about the early life of Udayana are found in the three BK recensions, the Sk P, the Dh PA and the Jain Mṛgāvatī legend which has been partly recorded in the KPP also, apart from the now unavailable Mṛge.

### *The KSS, BKM and Sk P accounts*

According to the KSS, BKM and Sk P accounts, of Udayana's early life, 'Udayana was brought up in the hermitage of sage Jamadagni where, the latter performed all the necessary ceremonies for him. He was also taught by the sage, all the arts and sciences such as archery, which are requisite for a prince. Once, in the course of his hunting, Udayana came across a serpent, which had been captured by a hunter. Taking pity on the Victim, he asked the captor to release it. But the hunter refused on the grounds that it was his only means of livlihood. Then Udayana offered him his gold bracelet, which his mother had given him and which had his father's name engraved on it. The hunter was satisfied and taking the bracelet, set the poor captive free'.

At this juncture, the KSS differs from the BKM and the Sk P, in maintaining that the grateful serpent was in reality, Vasunemi, the elder brother of Vāsuki. In return for his freedom, he presented to Udayana, on the spot, an extraordinary lute, a betel box ( tāmbūlī ), and the art of making a garland

1. Thomas Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, I, p. 368.
2. Chapter I, Age and Genealogy, p. 6.

and 'tilaka' which never faded. Thus enriched, Udayana came back to his mother at the hermitage.

But the BKM and the Sk P agree on the point that the grateful serpent led Udayana to the Netherworld introducing himself to Udayana as Kinnara, the son of Dhṛtarāṣṭra. There, he gave to Udayana, his pretty sister 'Lalitā' with whom Udayana lived for some time in the Netherworld. Now Lalitā was in reality a 'Vidyādharī' who was undergoing a curse in the guise of a she-serpent.

Here the BKM and the Sk P differ slightly between themselves. According to the former, Lalitā's curse came to an end when she conceived from Udayana. At once she changed into her real form and went to her original abode. Udayana was presented with a lute named Ghoṣavatī, a betel box ( tāmbūlī ) and an unfading garland by the king of the serpents. Thus, equipped, he returned to the hermitage. But the Sk P informs us that Lalitā's curse only ended with the birth of her son and it was she who presented to Udayana, the lute called Ghoṣavatī, the 'tāmbūlī' and the unfading garland. Disclosing to him that she was in reality a Vidyādharī, Sukarṇī by name, who was undergoing a curse in the guise of a she-serpent, she went away to her real abode. With the permission of his in-laws, Udayana also came back to the hermitage, bringing with him, his son and the three valuable presents, to the rapture of his mother Mṛgāvatī, who had worried herself sick at his absence.

Henceforth, all the three works continue in agreement, 'The hunter went to Kauśāmbī and tried to sell the bracelet Udayana had given to him in return for setting the serpent free. But the jewelled ornament had his father Sahasrānīka's name engraved upon it and aroused suspicion in the minds of the people who saw it. The poor hunter was caught and produced before king Sahasrānīka, who recognised the bracelet and asked the hunter how he had come by it. In reply, the hunter related to him the whole episode of the release of the serpent.' The KSS adds that 'a voice from the sky told the king that his curse had now come to an end and his wife Mṛgāvatī was to be found with his son at the hermitage of sage Jamadagni, in the Udaya mountains.' 'The king, then, with

all his retinue and led by the hunter set forth towards the hermitage. In due course, he reached his destination where the desired reunions of the husband and wife and father and son took place to the satisfaction of all. After asking the permission of the kind sage and inviting him to Kauśāmbī, the king went back to his kingdom, accompanied by his wife and son.'

According to the BKM, on reaching his capital Sahasrānīka gave to Udayana, Yaugandharāyaṇa as prime minister, Rumaṇvān as Commander-in-chief and Vasantaka as friend and companion. He also entrusted to Udayana, all the cares of the state and the people. Then he began to enjoy, along with his wife, various pleasures of life. When in due course of time he died, Udayana performed all the requisite rites along with his mother and succeeded his father to the throne of Kauśāmbī.[1]

The KSS also agrees that 'At Kauśāmbī, Sahasrānīka anointed Udayana, the crown prince and deputed the sons of his ministers, viz., Yaugandharāyaṇa, Rumaṇvān and Vasantaka, to help him in the affairs of the state. Thus himself becoming carefree, he began to enjoy in the company of his wife, various pleasures of life. In due course of time, old age came upon him. Realising it, he appointed Udayana his successor, and accompanied by his wife and old ministers went to the Himagiri, to prepare himself for the Great Departure.[2]

According to the Sk P, however,'on returning to Kauśāmbī; Sahasrānīka made Udayana the king in his place and accompanied by his wife Mṛgāvatī and his ministers, viz., Yaugandharāyaṇa, Rumaṇvān and Vasantaka, went to bathe in the holy pilgrimage, Cakratīrtha on the banks of the South Sea because he had realised the lowliness of the human life. As a result of their bath in the holy waters of the Cakratīrtha, their human forms dissolved and they got transformed into celestial forms. Riding into celestial air chariots, all of them went to heaven.'[3]

### *The BKŚS Version*

The BKŚS gives a detailed account of Udayana's early life which differs in many points from the preceding accounts of

1. BKM, II, I and 2, pp. 37-46.
2. KSS, II, T 2 and p. 32.
3. Sk P, III, 1, 5, p. 12.

the BKM, KSS and Sk P. The story is continued by Udayana's mother Mṛgāvatī, who is relating it to her daughters-in-law.

'Vasiṣṭha taught my son all the requisite arts and sciences, which included the teaching of the Vedas and the handling of the various weapons. After some days had gone by, Vasiṣṭha forbade him to go far away from the hermitage. On account of the in-born ferociousness of the warrior caste, my son used to go away for hunting. Once Vasiṣṭha noticed that he was putting on celestial garland and *candana*, etc., and asked him if he had come across lads, amusing themselves in the waters of a pond nearly. My naughty son replied in the affirmative and on further questioning, gave a detailed account of his straying off thus; 'Although you had forbidden me to go afar from the hermitage, yet today I wandered away in the northern direction, where I came across a pond, full of blooming lotuses. There, I saw some boys who did not have human forms, playing gleefully in it. When they noticed me standing on the bank they got frightened and began to swim away with mighty strokes towards deep waters. On my assuring them, however, that I did not mean them any harm, they became my friends and asked me to go with them to their residence. On my accepting their invitation, they led me through the waters, tô a very prosperous and beautiful city where they lived. I was told that it was called Bhogavatī. One of them, who was introduced to me as the son of 'Kambala', took me to his home where I was very hospitably treated. Others also wanted to invite me to their respective homes, but I bade farewell to them, explaining that you had forbidden me to go afar and might be angry with me for disobeying your orders. They, then, covered my face with a piece of cloth and guided me to the banks of the pond. Thus, I have visited Bhogavatī. Please do not get angry with me.' Vasiṣṭha, however, assured him that it was at his desire that my son had come across the Nāga boys. Moreover he asked him to go to Bhogavatī with his friends again and learn there the science of music as well as the science of elephants. If he was to be offered anything by the king of the Nāgas, he had to ask for the lute Ghoṣavatī which could control Nāgas and which on being placed in the lap, rendered very sweet music without being played upon.

Udayana, accordingly, went to the city of the Nāgas and after many days, came back with the aforesaid lute.

'Once, Vasiṣṭha was desirous of listening to the music of Ghoṣavatī. When your husband bagan to sing with the accompaniment of the music of Ghoṣavatī, all the inmates of the hermitage and the wild beasts, even the lions and the elephants were moved to immobility. When the overpowering music stopped, Vasiṣṭha forbade Udayana to ever play upon Ghoṣavatī in the neighbourhood of his hermitage as it disturbed the concentration of the ascetics. Thence onwards, Udayana used to Play upon Ghoṣavatī in the forests away from the hermitage and with the help of its music, used to capture the elephants roaming on the Udaya mountains.

'After some time, Lord Vasiṣṭha told me that as my son was grown up, it was time for me to go to Kauśāmbī. When I indicated my willingness by keeping silent, on his order, two of his disciples, took me and my son by air to Kauśāmbī, in a moment. There we got down at the pleasure garden of the city. Your husband was spotted by the keepers of the garden when he was playing in the pond of his father and they went and reported to their king that a boy of godly appearance, was plucking lotuses. The king hurried to his gardens and deciding that my son was a god, began to bow to him. The ascetics checked him from it, telling him that it was only his son and showed me to him. He was doubtful at first and was about to go back when the ascetics assured him that it was no dream and recounted to him all that had happened to me since the Bhāraṇḍa bird had flown away with me. The king was overcome by this unexpected happiness. He asked the ascetics to get down but they refused as they had no orders from Vasiṣṭha to that effect. Then the king requested them to leave some souvenir behind them. They took off the deerskins that they were putting on and throwing them on the ground, disappeared. The king worshipped the deer-skins and gave to the garden the name of Mṛgājina. He anointed his son crown prince at that very spot and then reentered his city with great happiness.'[1]

1. BKŚS, Canto V, pp. 57-63.

*The Dh PA version*

The Dh PA as usual gives an account, very dissimilar to the other accounts. According to it, 'Although Allakappatāpasa continued to minister to all the needs of Udena's mother, yet he did not violate his vow of chastity. After some time, she thought to herself that if the ascetic were to leave them, both herself and her child would perish there, for she knew neither the way to come, nor the way to go. Accordingly, she reduced him to violate his vow of chastity, and thenceforth, the two lived together as husband and wife.

'One day, Allakappatāpasa, observing a conjunction of a constellation with one of the lunar mansions, saw the occultation of parantapa's star. "My lady", observed he "Parantapa, the king of Kosambī is dead." "Noble sir, why do you speak thus? Why do you bear ill-will against him ?" "I bear him no ill-will, my lady. I say this because I have just seen the occultation of his star." She burst into tears. "Why do you weep ?" he asked. Then she told him that Parantapa was her own husband. The ascetic replied, " Weep not my lady; whoever is born is certain to die." "I know that, noble sir." "Then why do you weep ?" "I weep because my son is deprived of his hereditary right to the kingdom of Kosambī." The ascetic assured her that he will give to her son his hereditary kingdom. Accordingly, the ascetic gave the boy the lute to charm elephants with and likewise taught him the spell for charming the elephants.

'Now at that time, many thousands of elephants came and sat at the foot of the banyan-tree. So the ascetic said to the boy, "climb the tree before the elephants come and when they come, utter this spell and strike this string, and they will all turn and run away, without even so much as daring to look at you, then descend and come back to me." The boy did as he was told and then went and told the ascetic. On the second day, the ascetic said to him, "Today, utter this spell and strike this string, and they will turn and run away, eyeing you at every step." On that day also, the boy did as he was told and then went and told the ascetic.

'Then, the ascetic addressed the mother saying, "My lady, give your son his message and he will go hence and become the

king." She told her son, "'You must say, 'I am the son of king Parantapa of Kosambī; a monster bird carried me off.' Then you must utter the names of the Commander-in-chief and the other generals. If they refuse to believe you, you must show them this blanket, which was your father's cloak and this signet ring which he wore on his finger." With these words she dismissed him.

'The boy requested the ascetic for further instructions. The latter told him to seat himself on the lowest branch of the tree, utter a certain spell and strike a particular string which will make the leader of the elephants approach and offer him his back, then to go to his kingdom and to take the sovereignty. The boy paid reverence to the queen and the ascetic and in accordance with the instructions of the latter, seated himself on the back of the elephant and whispered in his ear, 'I am the son of king Parantapa of Kosambī. Get me my hereditary sovereignty." The elephant on hearing this trumpeted, 'Let many thousands of elephants assemble.' And his command was obeyed. Of them, The leader made the old, weak and very young elephants to retire.

'Then the boy went forth, surrounded by many thousands of warrior elephants and reaching a village on the frontier of Kosambī, proclaimed, 'I am the son of the king, let those desirous of worldly prosperity come with me.' Thus levying forces as he proceeded, he invested the city and sent the following message to the citizens, 'Give me battle or the kingdom.' The citizens refused to give either on the grounds that their pregnant queen was carried off by a monster bird and they did not know whether any heir to the throne was existent or not. Thereupon, the boy disclosed himself to be the long lost heir. He also uttered the names of the Commander-in-chief and the other generals, and when they still refused to believe him, showed the blanket and the ring. They recognised the two, opened the gates and accepted him as their lawful king."[1]

*The Jain Mṛgāvatī legend account*

The Jain tradition of Udayana's birth and childhood is continued thus in the Mṛgāvatī-Rāsa.

1. Dh PA, i, ii-Udv, pp. 166-69.

'Udayana, later on, saw a Bhīla killing a serpent in order to get hold of the latter's 'Maṇi'. To save the poor creature, he offered the Bhīla in return for setting free the serpent, a very valuable bracelet, which he had previously got from his mother. The 'Bhīla' went to Kauśāmbī with the purpose of selling that bracelet. On it were engraved the names of king Śatānīka and queen Mṛgāvatī. Therefore, the shop-keeper, to whom the poor forester tried to sell the bracelet, suspected him of foul doings and had him captured and surrendered to the king. In the course of an enquiry as to how the Bhīla had got hold of the valuable bracelet, the king came to know the whereabouts of his long lost wife. Gladdened beyond imagination by the happy tidings about his wife's and son's existence, king Śatānīka, guided by the Bhīla reached the far off hermitage where his wife and son were residing. Thus, after fourteen long years, the tragic separation of the king from his beloved queen Mṛgāvatī came to an end he brought back to Kauśāmbī, his long lost wife and newly acquired son. The three, thence onwards began to live happily together in the roayl palace at Kauśāmbī. Udayana became renowned as an expert in playing the lute."[1]

The KPP gives a detailed account of another episode in Udayana's life, which is found preserved only in the Jain Mṛgāvatī legend. This story is also found in the Mṛgāvatī-Rāsa. According to the KPP, 'Once, king Sayāṇīa was boasting of his prosperity and the splendour of his court. A messenger who was present there at that time, pointed out the shortage of paintings in the courthall. The king had summoned many famous painters of that time who came to him with their paintings. Now at that time there had come to Kosambī from Sāketa, a painter who as a result of a boon that he had received from a 'Yakṣa', could draw the exact likeness of any human being or quadruped on seeing only a part of the model's body. To please the king, he painted a portrait of queen Migāvaī, having seen only the toe of her foot from behind the curtains. In the course of his painting the portrait, a drop of ink dropped on the joint of the portrait's thigh and could not be erased. The painter concluded that it was a mark on the queen's body

1. Nohata, ss Ka Mṛgv R.

and let it remain there. When the king visited the newly decorated assembly hall, he noticed the mole in the portrait and got suspicious that the painter was having an affair with his wife. He was so enraged that he was about to kill the painter on the spot, but the other painters explained the extraördinary powers that the boon of the Yakṣa had bestowed on the particular painter. To test the truth of it, the king had shown to the painter, only the face of a hunchbacked woman. The painter drew an exact likeness of her to prove his extraordinary powers but still the angry king had his right hand cut off. Enraged by the injustice, the painter again worshipped the afore mentioned Yaksa. The latter granted him a boon which enabled him to draw by his left hand as ably as he could previously, with his right hand. To avenge himself upon the cruel Sayāṇia, the painter drew another likeness of the beautiful queen, Migāvaī and showed it to Pajjoya, the king of Ujjeṇī. When the latter was told that it was a portrait of the wife of king Sayāṇ ia of Kosambī, he got enamoured of her and sent a message to Sayāṇia to send Migāvaī to him as it was only he who was worthy of her. On his demand being curtly refused as he anticipated, Pradyota with a large army marched against Kosambī. Sayāṇia was much worried at this and as he was already suffering from acute dysentry, this new trouble caused his death. Migāvaī was now at a loss as to how to safeguard her honour because her son, Udayana, was at that time, very young. So cleverly, she sent this message to Pajjoya, 'Now that Sayāṇia is dead, you are my only refuge but at present my son is very young and weak and consequently I am much worried about his safety and that of his kingdom'. Pajjoya in return assured her that he would look after her son and his sovereignty. But Migāvaī persisted that as he was far ôff from Kosambī, his assurance did not stand for much.

Pajjoya, then, had a strong and impregnable fort erected in the midst of the two cities, Ujjeṇī and Kosambī. For this purpose bricks were brought from Ujjeṇī. Migāvaī, then, asked Pajjoya to fill the fort with the necessary supplies of food, money and ammunitions. Pajjoya fulfilled this demand also in the pleasant anticipation of gaining Migāvaī. But the shrewd widow gave him the dodge and shut herself up with her son

and all her retinue in the new fort. Pajjoya, in his wrath, laid a seige around Kosambī.

'One day, Migāvaī was desirous of entering the order of Lord Mahāvīra. The Lord knew of it and came there. On learning of his arrival, the queen had the gates of the fort opened and went to pay her respects to him. Pajjoya also came to the Lord with the same purpose and requested the Lord to preach the 'Dharma' to them. Lord Mahāvīra complied with his request. At the end of his sermon, Migāvaī solicited Pajjoya's permission for her accepting 'Pravrajyā. He could not check her because of the Lord and other people who were looking on. Then, she entrusted to Pajjoya her son Udayana, and there and then, entered Lord Mahāvīra's order. Along with her, the eight wives of Pajjoya, of whom Aṅgāravaī was the head, also accepted 'Pravrajyā'. Because of her chastity, Migāvaī attained the 'Kevala-ṇāṇa ( Kaivalya-Jñāna ) and became one of the formost of Lord Mahāvīra's lady-disciples. And because of his misconduct, Pajjoya suffered great ignominy.'[1]

The Vtk, also, alludes to this episode of Pradyota's erecting a fort at Kauśāmbī, in order to gain Mṛgāvatī and to her conversion to Jainism in the long run.[2]

These are the various detailed accounts of Udayana's early life. However, there are a few allusions in Śrīharṣa's works which elucidate the views he held on this point. In the Rtv,[3] Udayana is depicted recalling his visit to the Netherworld. Elsewhere in the Prd,[4] he is found alluding to his visit to the city of the serpents in the Netherworld. Further on in the same work,[5] Vāsavadattā says that her husband is proficient in curing the ill effects of poison and that this proficiency he had attained in the serpent world. These references clearly show that about Udayana's early life, Śrīharṣa sided with the BKM, Sk P and BKŚS and believed that Udayana had, once, been to the serpent world.

1. KPP : Mṛgāvatīvṛttānta, p. 230-36.
2. Vtk, 12 Ksbnk, p. 23.
3. Rtv, Act I, p. 25, Sl 12.
4. Prd, Act II, p. 28, Sl 6.
5. Prd, Act IV, p. 88.

There is, however, one Sanskrit drama, which stands up against all the other authorities in maintaining that Udayana's childhood was spent in the royal city of Kauśāmbī and not in a hermitage, far away from it. In the Vvd, Bharatarohaka, a minister of Pradyota informs his master that once, in his childhood, Udayana was playing on the royal path and in the course of imitating the elephant in play, threw dust again and again on sage Aṅgāraka. He was cursed by the enraged sage that through an elephant, he would have to undergo captivity under an enemy.[1] This passage in the Vvd is definitely in conflict with the assertion of the other authorities, all of which maintain that Udayana's boyhood was spent in a hermitage. However, as all the other authorities, whether Sanskrit, Pali or Prakrit, agree on this point, one need not pay much attention to the single testimony of the Vvd. Moreover, the Vvd is supposed by the scholars to be later than Bhāsa's Pry and to be modelled on it. But the latter ( although it nowhere gives any indication of Bhāsa's views about Udayana's early life ) does not mention this particular incident of Udayana's life. Confirmation of it is not found in any other work also. It is quite probable that the author of Vvd introduced this incident in his play to serve its dramatic interests.

The various authorities, however, differ among themselves also, about some important points of details. Firstly, there is difference of opinion among them about Udayana's visit to the serpent world. The Dh PA does not mention it. The views of the Jain Mṛgāvatī legend on the topic are not known to us at present. The BKM, the BKŚS and the Sk P grant it although they differ about the details. Śrīharṣa definitely believed in this tradition. The KSS denies any such visit on Udayana's part. The differences in these accounts can be summed up thus :

The BKM, Sk P and BKŚS credit Udayana with a visit to the serpent world where he is said to have spent some time in the company of the Nāgas. According to the BKŚS however, he went there twice. The BKM and the Sk P would have us believe that he married there a Nāga maiden with whom he lived for quite some time. The Sk P goes a step further and

1. Vvd, Act I, p 10.

says that Udayana had a son from her whom he brought with him to the hermitage, Along with a son, she also presented to Udayana a lute Ghoṣavatī, a betel box, and an unfading garland. According to the BKM, these three things plus an unfading 'tilaka' and minus the son were presented to Udayana by the Nāga father-in-law. The BKŚS informs us that it was the king of the serpents who gave to Udayana the lute Ghoṣavatī and bestowed on him the sciences of music and elephants. The KSS however, would have us believe that Vasunemi, the elder brother of Vāsuki, as tokens of his gratitude, presented to Udayana Ghoṣavatī, a betelbox and an unfading garland as well as an unfading 'tilaka'. According to the Dh PA, ascetic Allakappa gave to Udayana a lute called 'Hatthikanta-vīṇā' and taught him the 'Hatthikantamanta'.

In this connection, it is worth noticing that according to the Prk, the Nāgamata also credits Udayana with a visit to the serpent world but maintains that it happened when he was already reigning at Kauśāmbī. He went there to marry Vasudatti, the daughter of the king of the serpents and as dowry in this marriage, he got some valuable gifts, viz., the celebrated cow 'Kāmadhenu' with her calf, an especial type of 'Nāgavallī', a cot with pillow and 'tūlikā' and a lamp called 'Ratnodyota'. The author of the Prk, after relating the whole story dismisses it as improbable.[1] However, this is only another form of the Sanskrit legend about Udayana's visit to the serpent world. Of the presents only one is common, i.e., the 'Nāgavallī', which according to Sri Prahlad Pradhan[2] denotes a creeper of betel, same as the 'tāmbūlī' of the Kashmirian BK tradition and the Sk P.

Of all these versions, it is rather difficult to decide on the most authentic one. It seems, however, reasonable to reject the BKM statement of Udayena's marriage with Lalitā, as neither the KSS nor the BKŚS make any mention of it. Moreover, Udayana could at the most, have been aged fourteen years when he visited the serpent world because the total period of separation of his father and mother was fourteen years as his father had been cursed by Tilottamā that he would be

1. Prk, 19 Vrdpr, pp. 86-88.
2. 'Saṃskṛti aur praṇaya kā pratīka pāna' (Jñānodaya, Oct, 1957).

separated from his wife for fourteen years.[1] Now, the age of fourteen years seems rather tender for getting married and having a son. The Sk P, moreover, ascribes to Udayana a son from Lalitā but we do not find any mention of this progeny of Udayana in any other work. What happened of this son, if we are to believe the Sk P information ? It seems reasonable, therefore, not to put any credence in the marriage of Udayana with Lalitā of the serpent world and the birth of a son from her.

About the rest of the story, it is difficult to reject either version. The Sanskrit works, undoubtedly, have mixed reality with mythology but the Nāgas and Sarpas could well have been the wild tribes of those times. It is quite probable that Udayana developed a friendship with these people and they presented him all these valuable gifts. It is more than likely that these wild people, who lived in places normally beyond human reach, had mastery over the art of music and the science of elephants which Udayana learnt from them. But on the other hand, the Dh PA account is also quite probable. The hermit who had been living away from civilisation for such a long time, might well be having a mystic formula for catching elephants.

Therefore, we can safely conclude that during his life at the hermitage, Udayana came to possess a miraculous lute and he also became proficient in the art of capturing elephants with the help of its music. It is also quite probable that he learnt there a cure for poison and some especial method, so that at least for sometime, garlands and 'tilaka' could remain unfaded. Also perhaps, from the wild place where he spent his childhood, he brought to Kauśāmbī, the art of eating 'bete's'.

The next point about which the various authorities differ, is Udayana's going to Kauśāmbī and his being recognised as the son of king Śatānīka. The Kashmirian BK recensions, the Sk P and the Jain Mṛgāvatī legend, all give an identical account of these happenings. The BKŚS and the Dh PA differ from these authorities in maintaining that Udayana went to Kauśāmbī himself, without his father coming to fetch him. Yet, these two works differ between themselves : while the former informs

1. Chap. 1, Age and genealogy, p. 21.

us that Udayana's mother accompanied him to Kauśāmbī where Śatānīka was reigning at that time, the latter maintains that Udayana's father was already dead when he set off for his hereditary kingdom and that his mother stayed back with ascetic Allakappa, with whom she had developed illicit relations soon after Udayana's birth and with whom she had been living in cohabitation ever since. None of the other testimonies agree with this version of the relations between the two.

Thus, these are three versions of Udayana's journey to his father's capital : (a) his father came to the hermitage and took Udayana to Kauśāmbī along with his mother Mṛgāvatī; (b) Udayana accompanied by his mother, went to Kauśāmbī of his own accord and was welcomed there by his father; (c) Udayana by himself went to Kauśāmbī after his father's death and claimed his ancestral throne while his mother stayed back at the hermitage of Allakappatāpasa. We have at present no discriminating method by which we can pick out the authentic version and reject the other two. Whether he went to Kauśāmbī of his own accord or whether his father came to the hermitage to meet his wife and son, cannot be decided in the absence of any more conclusive evidence.

About Udayana's life in the royal palace and his career thence onward, the authorities again differ. Even the BKM and the Sk P, which usually give identical version of everything differ on this point. According to the BKM, on reaching Kauśāmbī, Udayana was appointed 'crown prince' by his father, who also gave him Yaugandharāyaṇa, Rumaṇvān, and Vasantaka as ministers. Later, when in the course of time, his father died, Udayana acceded to his ancestral throne of Vatsa country. The Sk P, however, would have us believe that as soon as he reached Kauśāmbī, Udayana was handed over the kingship by his father, who along with his wife and ministers went on a pilgrimage to Cakratīrtha. His ministers were Yaugandharāyaṇa, Rumaṇvān and Vasantaka. They bathed in the holy waters of Cakratīrtha and immediately got rid of their human forms.

The KSS and the BKŚS agree with the BKM in so far that Udayana, on reaching Kauśāmbī was anointed crown prince of Kauśāmbī by his father. The KSS also mentions that Yau-

gandharāyaṇa, Rumaṇvān and Vasantaka were given to Udayana as advisers. But it differs from the BKM in maintaining that when Udayana's father got old, he abdicated his throne in favour of his son and along with his wife and ministers went on a pilgrimage. The BKŚS, however, stops the narration at Udayana's anointment as the crown prince of Kauśāmbī.

We have already seen that the Dh PA version is entirely different in maintaining that Udayana had to make his own way to his ancestral throne after his father's death.

According to the Jain Mṛgāvatī legend, Śatānīka continued to rule at Kauśāmbī until he died of acute dysentry. His wife, Mṛgāvatī continued to look after the political interests of her son Udayana who was still a child. On her becoming a nun of the Jain order, Udayana began his career as a king.

Of all these different versions, the Sk P version seems rather absurd. We have no reason to believe that Yaugandharāyaṇa, Rumaṇvān and Vasantaka left Udayana when he was bereaved of his father and mother simultaneously. Udayana's father could have abdicated in favour of his son sometimes later when he was weighed down by old age as the KSS would have us believe, but not immediately on their getting back to Kauśāmbī. However, the most rational account is that of the BKM and the Jain Mṛgāvatī legend according to which, Udayana acceded to the throne of Kauśāmbī after his father had died a natural death. Because both these versions maintain that Udayana's mother continued to live with him after his father's death. Going by the KSS account, we would have to accept that his mother accompanied his father on his pilgrimage and both left Udayana at the same time. Now, both the BKŚS and Bhāsa indicate that Udayana's mother was living with him, long after his accession to the throne of Kauśāmbī. For in the BKŚS we find her asking Vāsavadattā about her 'dohada' and narrating the episode of Udayana's birth to her daughters-in-law,[1] and in Bhāsa's Pry, we find her preparing a 'Pratisarā' for her son to safeguard him against any evil.[2] Later on, when she learns of Udayana's capture by Pradyota through a stratagem, she behaves in a courageous manner befitting the mother

1. BKŚS, canto V, pp. 55–63.
2. Pry, Act I, pp. 10–11, 32.

of a king. She also requests Yaugandharāyaṇa to restore her son to her.[1]

Thus, it is clear that Bhāsa believed that Udayana's mother was alive when he was captured by Pradyota. The BKŚS goes a step further and informs us that Udayana's mother was still alive after Udayana's two marriages with Vāsavadattā and Padmāvatī and upto Vāsavadattā's conception of Naravāhanadatta. The Mṛgāvatī legend maintains that she ultimately became a nun of the Jain order. We can, however, safely accept the evidence of the BKM, BKŚS, Bhāsa and the Jain Mṛgāvatī legend that Udayana's mother continued to live with him after his father's death, for quite some time longer. The testimony of the Jain Mṛgāvatī legend about his father's death and the subsequent episode of Pradyota's getting enamoured of Mṛgāvatī and her shrewdness in getting rid of his unwelcome advances, seem quite acceptable too.

*Ghoṣavatī; the famous lute of Udayana*

While discussing the events of Udayana's early life, it would not be out of place to mention Ghoṣavatī the famous lute of Udayana. In the Sanskrit, Pali and Prakrit literatures, Udayana is described as very proficient in the art of playing on the lute. It is also claimed that with the help of the music of his lute, he could overpower even the wildest elephants. This art, he is said to have learnt during his life at the hermitage. As we have seen before, Ghoṣavatī was presented to him by a serpent according to all the BK recensions and the Sk P.[2]

Other Sanskrit authors also, who deal with the Udayana legend, mention Ghoṣavatī, the famous lute of Udayana. Bhāsa, however, differs from the authorities quoted above, in maintaining that Ghoṣavatī was a family heirloom of Udayana.[3] After Udayana's capture by his forces, Pradyota got hold of Ghoṣavatī and presented it to his daughter Vāsavadattā.[4] In the

1. Pry, Act I, pp. 38–40, 43.
2. BKM, II, p. 38, Sl. 60;
   KSS, II, T. 2, Sl. 80–81; T. 3, Sl. 2–3;
   Sk P, iii, I, 5, Sl. 135–137;
   BKŚS, canto V, p. 60, Sl. 138–142.
3. Pry, Act II, p. 61.
4. Pry, Act II, pp. 62–63.

Svd it is clearly said that Vāsavadattā used to play upon Ghoṣavatī in the course of her music lessons from Udayana.[1]

The interwoven play in the Prd shows Vāsavadattā playing upon Ghoṣavatī and Udayana teaching her music on it.[2]

In the Vvd also, Ghoṣavatī is shown in the possession of Udayana, before his capture by Pradyota.[3]

An allusion to Ghoṣavatī in the KPP makes it clear that in the Prakrit Udayana legend also, Ghoṣavatī was an inseparable companion of Udayana.[4]

The Pali tradition also, associates Udayana with a specific lute whose music is said to have had exceptional influence over elephants. But in regard to Udayana's acquisition of the lute and its name, this tradition differs from the BK and Sk P traditions. The Dh PA calls it 'Hatthikantavīṇā' and mentions that it was given to Udayana by 'Allakappatāpasa' who had offered refuge to Udayana's mother.[5] According to it, Udayana used to control wild elephants with its help,[6] and it was an inseparable companion of his.[7]

Regarding the name of Ghosavatī being 'Hatthikantavīṇā' in the Dh PA, it is easily explicable. 'Hatthinkantavīṇā' is more an epithet, describing a particular quality than a proper name. The lute, in question, has been universally claimed to have had a special power over elephants. The BKŚS calls it 'Sanāgamūrchanā'.[8] The KSS maintains that Udayana used to capture elephants with its help.[9] The BKM agrees with it definitely.[10] Bhāsa also believes that it could control elephants.[11] According to the author of the Vvd also; Ghoṣavatī had a special power over elephants.[12] The Dh PA itself credits it with

1. Svd, Act VI, pp. 120–22.
2. Prd, Act III, pp. 56–64.
3. Vvd, Act II, pp. 21-23.
4. KPP, p. 81.
5. Dh PA, i, ii-Udv, pp. 167–68.
6. Ibid., Udv, p. 192.
7. Ibid, Udv, p. 215.
8. BKŚS, canto V, p. 60, Sl. 140.
9. KSS, II, T. 3, p. 32 Sl. 3-4.
10. BKM, II, p. 46, Sl. 9.
11. Pry, Act II, p. 62, Sl 12.
12. Vvd, Act II, p. 20.

an extraordinary power to influence even the wildest and mightiest of elephants.[1]

Therefore, it is quite likely that by the virtue of the miraculous control that Udayana's lute was claimed to have over elephants, its name Ghoṣavatī changed into 'Hatthikantavīṇā' in the Pali tradition. There seems no possible reason on the strength of which we should be doubtful about the name Ghoṣavatī as excepting the Dh PA, all the other give it that name.

As to the process by which Udayana came into possession of it, there are two probable alternatives, one offered by the Sanskrit works and the other based on the Dh PA account. At present, it is difficult to pick out the authentic version and reject the other one in the absence of any more conclusive testimony.

*Personality*

Udayana is endowed with a very colourful personality by all the authors who deal with the legend. Various traits in his personality come to light when we compare the different versions offered by the different works. In the Sanskrit version of the legend, he is universally depicted as a 'Dhīralalita' type of 'Nāyaka' of the classical type. He fulfils all the qualities that are necessary for a hero of the classical type. He belongs to an exceptionally noble family, he is a mighty king and he has many qualities such as a thorough knowledge of music, bravery and self-respect.[2] Whenever the Sanskrit dramatists make him the hero of their dramas, their depiction of his personality is in keeping with the criterion of the Sanskrit dramaturgy. However, for this purpose, the Sanskrit works have idealised Udayana's true personality.

The Pali version of the legend brings out various other traits of his character, which are not mentioned in the Sanskrit works. It is only by comparing all the versions of the legend that we can draw a picture of Vatsarāja Udayana which will be faithful to his personality.

*Miraculous power over elephants*

The most striking trait of Udayana's personality and one which none of the literary authorities concerned denies, is his

1. Dh PA, i, ii–Udv, pp. 167–68.
2. Sāhitya-darpaṇa : p. 258.

extraordinary knowledge of the science of elephants and his remarkable proficiency in controlling them. This is a singular achievement to which no parallel is found mentioned about any other ancient hero, historical or fictitious. Allusions to this remarkable prowess of his are found in the Sanskrit, Pali and Prakrit streams of the Udayana legend. According to the KSS, after his accession to the throne of Kauśāmbī, he used to spend all his time in capturing wild elephants through the music of Ghoṣavatī.[1] In the BKM, Pradyota decides on the stratagem of the artificial elephant in order to capture Udayana because he is well aware of the fact that Udayana is fond of overpowering elephants with the help of the music of his lute.[2] According to the BKŚS, Udayana learnt the science of elephants, 'Hastividyā' from the Nāgas of Bhogavatī and during his stay at the hermitage of Vasiṣṭha he whiled away his time in capturing wild elephants through the overpowering music of Ghosavatī.[3] He also taught it to his brother-in-law, Pālaka according to the same work.[4]

It is clear from the Pry that about Udayana's extraordinary power over the elephants, Bhāsa held the same views as contained in the BK recensions. In the first act of the Pry which gives a detailed account of Pradyota's conspiracy to capture Udayana, the latter's extraordinary capability of controlling even the wildest elephants is often referred to. Hamsaka, in reporting to Yaugandharāyaṇa the unfortunate capture of their master, alludes to Udayana's having studied the science of elephants and his capability in capturing them with only the help of the music of his lute.[5] Pradyota describes Udayana as 'proud of his knowledge of the elephants.'[6]

Yaugandharāyaṇa's first plan for the escape of his master from Pradyota's captivity, was based on this extraordinary power of Udayana. He had planned to intoxicate and set free Nalāgiri so that Pradyota would be forced to remove the fetteres

1. KSS, II Kthm L, T. 3, p. 32, Sl. 3-4.
2. BKM, II, p. 47.
3. BKŚS, canto V, Sl. 138-51.
4. Ibid., canto II, p. 16, Sl. 41.
5. Pry, Act I, p. 18.
6. Pry, Act II, p. 47.

of Udayana in order to enable him to control Nalāgiri.[1] When, ultimately, Udayana fled away on Bhadravatī, Yaugandharāyaṇa was confident that even Nalāgiri could not reach him for he had no such guide as Vatsarāja.[2]

In the Vvd also, this miraculous hold of Udayana over elephants is often referred to. In the first act, Bharatarohaka informs his master Pradyota that Udayana is unmatched in the whole world, in his knowledge of the elephants and that he is extremely fond of capturing them.[3]

In the second act of the same play, Udayana himself says that no one except him can capture the 'Cakravartī' elephant of the colour of the blue lotus. Only he can overpower such a beast with the help of his lute because of his having studied the science of elephants. His friend Viṣṇutrāta agrees that he is capable of even overpowering the 'Diggajas' such as Airāvata, etc.[4] Later on, Udayana is shown in the process of overpowering an elephant through the music of his lute and his own songs.[5]

Śrīharṣa, however, does not refer to Udayana's power over the elephants. But it does not in any way mean that on this point, he differed from the other Sanakrit authorities. The absence of any such allusions in his works, is solely due to the fact that he nowhere needs allude to it.

The Dh PA proves that the Pali legend, in no way, differed from its Sanskrit counterpart about this important point. It is the only Pali work which deals in detail with Udayana's life and therefore it is neither surprising nor significant that other Pali works do not mention this fact. However, according to the Maj, Udayana's son, Bodhi was an expert in riding on elephants and in controlling them with the 'Aṅkuśa'.[6] It is quite probable that Bodhi was taught the science of elephants by his father.

The Dh PA, apart from alluding to Udayana's remarkable power over elephants, gives a detailed account of how he came

1. Pry, Act III, p. 96.
2. Pry, Act IV, p. 116.
3. Vvd, Act I, p. 8.
4. Vvd, Act II, p. 19.
5. Vvd, Act II, pp. 23–24.
6. Maj, ii, 85, p. 94.

to possess it, as we have seen earlier. According to it, Pradyota had to resort to a stratagem to capture Udayana because he was informed that the latter was invulnerable as he could drive away the elephants as well as charm them over to his captivity with the help of the music of his lute and a spell that he knew. Therefore, no one could equal him in his strength of the elephant force.[1] The Dh PA, moreover, claims that Pradyota wanted to get from Udayana his secret power over the elephant which Udayana admitted to be in possession of.[2]

The KPP makes it clear that on this point, the Prakrit legend held the same views as its Sanskrit and Pali counterparts. According to it, Pradyota was aware of the fact that Udayana was excessively fond of capturing elephants with the help of his music.[3] Udayana's controlling and recapturing Nalāgiri who had got loose from his pillarpost is also alluded to in it.[4] The latter incident is also referred to in the Prk.[5]

These quotations prove it conclusively that all the different legends agreed about his miraculous control over the elephants. But as we have seen above, the Sanskrit and the Pali traditions differ regarding the problem of how Udayana came in possession of the miraculous lute Ghoṣavatī and his extraordinary power over the elephants. However, they both agree that Udayana acquired his knowledge of the science of elephants during his life at the hermitage. But the Sanskrit tradition maintains that Udayana paid a visit to the serpent world and it was there that he acquired from the Nāgas the famous lute Ghoṣavatī and the elephant science; whereas the Dh PA would have us believe that he got both the Vīṇā and the knowledge from the hermit, Allakappatāpasa.

### *Art of making 'divya mālā' and 'tilaka'*

According to the BKM,[6] KSS[7] and Sk P,[8] Udayana also learnt from the Nāgas, an especial way of making 'divya mālā'

1. Dh PA, i, ii, I-Udv, p. 192.
2. Dh PA, i, ii, I-Udv, pp. 193-94.
3. KPP, p. 80.
4. Ibid., Pradyotakathā, p. 81.
5. Prk, 19 Vrd Pr. p. 86.
6. BKM, II, p. 38, Sl. 60.
7. KSS, II, T. 1, Sl. 79-81, p. 26.
8. Sk P, iii, I. 5, Sl. 135-37.

and 'tilaka', which never faded. The Kashmirian BK recensions allude to it again in connection with Udayana's second marriage with Padmāvatī. According to these works, he taught this art to Vāsavadattā, who during her disguise as Avantikā at Magadha, decorated Padmāvatī with the 'divya mālā' and 'tilaka' when the latter was getting married.[1] However, the Nepalese recension of the BK and Bhāsa do not mention this fact which makes one rather sceptical about the authenticity of the Kashmirian version of the legend. The BKŚS gives a detailed account of Udayana's visit to Bhogavatī, the city of the Nāgas, but nowhere mentions that Udayana learnt from the Nāgas the art of making 'divya malā' and 'tilaka'.[2]

Bhāsa also observes complete silence on this point and this silence becomes extra noteworthy when we remember in this connection that in the third act of the Svd, Vāsavadattā is depicted weaving a garland for Padmāvatī. If Bhāsa had believed in the Kashmirian BK version on this point, he could not have forgotten to mention Udayana's reaction on seeing the unique garland on Padmāvatī's person. However, the absence of any mention of the fact concerned in the BKŚS and the works of Bhāsa, need not make us reject the Kashmirian version finally. It is quite probable that the Nepalese recension forgot to record this minor fact and as for Bhāsa, the dramatic purposes of his work might easily have led him to look this fact over. For had Udayana noticed the garland weaved in the exclusive way that he had himself taught to Vāsavadattā, he would have, as in the KSS and the BKM, become doubtful about the reported death of Vāsavadattā and this would have definitely and considerably lessend the pathos of the Svd. So, sifting away the mythological part of it, one can safely conclude that during the early part of his life at the hermitage, Udayana came to learn from the Nāgas the art of making a special type of 'mālā' and 'tilaka'. On the other hand, any one, who raises a doubt on this issue, will also be quite justified in disbelieving the Kashmirian BK version.

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1. BKM, III, p, 76, Sl. 98–99;
   KSS, III, T. 2, Sl. 76–77, 101–3.
2. BKŚS, canto V, p. 60.

*Power of curing poison*

Another art, which Udayana is said to have learnt from the Nāgas, is the science of curing the poison. The Prd of Śrīharṣa is our sole informant on this point.[1] In the absence of any confirmation of Prd's statement that Udayana was an expert in curing poison, one cannot accept the evidence of Śrīharsa unreservedly. However, again it is quite probable that Nāgas knew the art of curing poison and that Udayana in the course of his friendship with them, learnt it from them. We will have to reserve our judgement about the authenticity of either version until some more conclusive testimony comes to our help.

*Knowledge and love of music*

Udayana is uniformly claimed to be a devotee of music by all the different legends. His proficiency in music was well known in his times. He had specialised in playing the lute. The BK recensions claim that he became an expert in music during the early part of his life when he was living at the hermitage. As we have just seen, these works maintain that he could play on his lute Ghosavatī so expertly that even the wild elephants were charmed into captivity by his music. According to the BKŚS, he had learnt the art of music from the Nāgas of Ghosavatī.[2]

In the Pry, Pradyota calls him 'Gāndharvavittaka' and says that he is proud of his knowledge of music.[3] According to the Vvd, he was unparalleled in the knowledge of music, in the whole world.[4]

The Prakrit works also affirm Udayana's proficiency in music, the Vtk[5] calls him 'Gandhavvaveyaniuṇa' and the Prk states that he became famous as 'Nādasamudra'.[6] According to the KPP, Pradyota had him captured so that Vāsavadattā could learn music from him.[7]

1. Prd, Act IV, p. 88.
2. BKŚS, canto V, p. 60, Sl. 138-42.
3. Pry, Act II, pp. 55, 61.
4. Vvd, Act I, p. ?.
5. Vtk, 12 Kabnk, p 23.
6. Prk, 19 VrdPr, p. 86.
7. KPP, Pradyotakathā, p. 80.

The Kashmirian BK recensions, Bhāsa and Śrīharṣa also confirm that he was appointed to teach music to Vāsavadattā.[1]

Thus we see that all the different authorities agree on the issue of Udayana's proficiency in music and his love for it. Lute-playing became an inseparable part of his personality. In fact he is more famous for his lute-playing and power over elephants than for his political achievements as a king.

*Excessive Pride*

Out of the other usual heroic qualities, Udayana is supposed to have had more than his normal share of pride. In the Pry of Bhāsa, he is depicted as very proud. Pradyota explains to his wife that Udayana does not request for Vāsavadattā's hand because he is excessively proud of his noble ancestry, knowledge of music, good looks and the devotion of his people.[2]

In the Vvd, we find Pradyota hesitating in selecting Udayana as his son-in-law because of the latter's excessive pride.[3]

In the KSS, Pradyota describes Udayana as 'Mānoddhata'.[4]

According to the BKM, Udayana is desirous of marrying Vāsavadattā but dose not ask for her hand because of his pride.[5]

The supposition about Udayana's excessive pride is confirmed by the Pāli tradition also. According to the Dh PA, he refused to disclose to Pradyota even at the risk of his life, the secret of his miraculous power over elephants unless the latter would bow to him.[6]

These testimonies prove beyond doubt that pride formed an integral part of Udayana's personality, although we have got to concede with Pradyota that he was justified in his pride.[7]

1. BKM, II, pp 48–49, Sl, 10, 12, 47;
   KSS, II, T. 2, Sl. 16–18, 27–28;
   Pry, Act IV, p. 121;
   Svd, Act VI, p. 131;
   Prd, Act III, pp. 54–64.
2. Pry, Act II, pp. 60–61.
3. Vvd, Act I, pp. 6–7.
4. KSS, II, T. 3, Sl. 16.
5. BKM, II, p. 46, Sl. 5.
6. Dh PA, i, ii, I-Udv, pp. 193–94.
7. Pry, Act II, pp. 60–61.

His was one of the oldest and noblest royal families, his kingdom was one of the four leading states of his times, he was highly talented and accomplished and his wonderful lute-playing could charm the wildest elephants. With all this went exceptional good looks. He was, thus, justified in his pride because of these many qualities.

*Rashness and Cruelty of nature*

The Pali legend ascribes to Udayana rashness and cruelty of an exceptional kind. Some incidents of his life as depicted in the Pali works, prove it beyond doubt. When Ghosaka Setthī refused to give his adopted daughter to him, he turned him and his wife out of doors and had their house sealed up.[1]

Another incident, which brings out clearly the extent of Udayana's cruelty is his unhappy encounter with Piṇḍola Bhāradvāja. He got enraged with Piṇḍola because his women had gone away to listen to Piṇḍola's sermon, leaving him asleep in his pleasure gardens. In his wrath, he tried to torture Piṇḍola by having a nest of brown ants tied to his body.[2]

When Sāmāvatī, one of Udayana's three chief consorts along with her five hundred women attendents, died through the wily machinations of her jealous co-wife, Māgandiyā and he became wise as to who was responsible for the crime, he punished her along with all her relatives, justifiably but rather too cruelly. According to the Udv, he killed along with her, all her attendents, relatives and friends.[3] The Dh PA gives a more detailed and gruesome account of Māgandiyā's end. According to it, when the king had all the relatives and friends of Māgandiyā in his hands, he caused waist-deep pits to be dug in the palace court, set them therein, filled up the pits with earth, spread straw on top. and set the straw on fire. When the skin had been burned to a crisp, he caused the bodies to be ploughed with an rion plough and to be broken up into pieces and fragments. As for Māgandiyā, he had pisces of solid flesh ripped from various parts of her body with a sharp knife and setting a vessel of oil on the brazier, he had them fried like cakes and made her eat them.[4]

1. Dh PA, i, ii, I-Udv, p. 191.
2. Mtj. J. Iv, 375 ff, No. 497.
3. UdV (VII-10), p. 382.
4. Dh PA : i, ii, I-Udv, p. 224.

The Dvy differs from the two works quoted above in so far that it denies that punishment was eventually meted out to Anupamā ( Māgandiyā of the Pali works ). However, it does not shake our belief in the rashness and cruelty of Udayana as according to it, Udayana inflicted a torturesome punishment on Anupamā rashly and without thinking although he later on withdrew his orders. He had ordered Yogāndharāyaṇa ( Yaugandharāyaṇa ) at first, to throw Anupamā along with Nākandika in the torture-room 'Yantragṛha' and burn them. For seven days, he did not enquire after her. On the seventh day, he was ready to forsake the world when he was reminded of his order to kill her.[1]

Even if we are to believe in the Dvy version of the episode, the punishment that Udayana first thought out for Anupamā is by no means, not cruel. Moreover, it brings out clearly his rashness in ordering recklessly and then repenting of it on second thoughts. As for the Dh PA account, if it is more reliable, Māgandiyā's punishment although justified, was not only cruel but almost inhuman, specially because along with the guilty Māgandiyā and her uncle, Udayana brought ruin upon the innocent relatives of Māgandiyā also.

Udayana's rashness is testified by another incident. When he set out to charm the seemingly real but in fact wooden elephant, placed on his frontiers by Pradyota's men, he was repeatedly asked by his ministers not to set out alone on his mission. But he did not listen to their advice and not thinking of the risks involved, he left his retinue behind and went away all alone.[2]

These evidences, therefore, establish firmly the two characteristics of Udayana's personality; cruelty and rashness.

*Attitude towards religion*

The Piṇḍola episode quoted above has been interpreted to suggest on Udayana's part, a hostility towards Buddhism.[3]

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1. Dvy, XXXVI, p. 537.
2. Pry, Act I, pp. 19–20;
   Vvd, Act II, pp. 19–21;
   Dh PA, Udv, p. 193.
3. Prof. N. N. Ghosh : E. H. K., p. 22.

But on scrutinising the whole account of the Piṇḍola episode, one is inclined to concede that for a man of Udayana's rash and haughty temperament, it was quite natural to get enraged with Piṇḍola because the women of the former's harem went to hear the religious discourse of Piṇḍola, leaving the king sleeping. Similarly, his wrath with his Buddhist queen Sāmāvatī,[1] which is also supposed to denote a hostility in Udayana's attitude towards Buddhism, can be explained on other grounds. He only got enraged with Sāmāvatī when he was led to believe through Māgandiyā's jealous insinuations that Sāmāvatī was planning to murder him and that she was more devoted to Lord Buddha than to him. It seems that in place of the hostility that he upto now has been supposed to have towards Buddhism, he had a most impartial frame of mind towards all religions which was more an outcome of his indifference towards religion in general, rather than of any largeness of heart. His religious impartiality and tolerance becomes confirmed when we remember in this connection that Sāmāvatī one of his three chief queens inspite of being a Buddhist in faith, was accorded the same consideration and respect as his other non-Buddhist queens and that Māgandiyā, her jealous co-wife was severely punished for causing her death.[2] Also Bodhi, his son who filled the role of his Viceroy in the Bhagga province, was a Buddhist.[3] Ghosila who is supposed to be a minister of Udayana,[4] was also a Buddhist by faith.[5]

*Weakness for women*

A notable trait of Udayana's personality was his weakness for women. Although the Sanskrit works try to idealise him and persist in maintaining that he was faithful to Vāsavadattā throughout his life, still there are enough traces of Udayana's defaults in this respect in the Sanskrit version of the legend itself. According to the KSS and the BKM, he strayed away from the path of fidelity even after his marriage with Vāsava-

1. Dh PA, Udv, pp. 211-24; Dvy XXXVI, pp. 529-30.
2. Ibid. Udv, pp. 208-24;
   Dvy, XXXVI, pp. 529-537.
3. Dhs J, J. III, 157 f, No. 353; Maj. II, 85, p. 91.
4. Dvy. XXXVI, p. 529;
   Dh PA, II, I, pp. 207-8.
5. Dh PA. i, ii, I-Udv, pp. 203-3

dattā, the socalled love of his life. The BKM ascribes to him an affair with Rajanikā,[1] whereas the KSS mentions two strayings away of this type, one with an old mistress Viracitā, who was an attendant in his harem and another with Bandhumatī, a princess.[2] This very Bandhumatī of the KSS is developed into Priyadarśikā by Śrīharṣa, as will be discussed later on. As for 'Viracitā', Bhāsa also believed in her existence and the role she played in Udayana's life.[3]

Again, Udayana according to the KSS and the BKM got enamoured of Kaliṅgasenā even after the birth of his son and decided to marry her, although he could not have been blind to the fact that it would hurt Vāsavadattā very much. The marriage was, however, averted by the wily machinations of Yaugandharāyaṇa.[4] Still, the episode does not speak very highly of Udayana's fidelity to Vāsavadattā although she might have been his true and great love of a lifetime.

The Pali legend ascribes numerous romances to Udayana, without trying to idealise him in any way. In most of his marriages in the Pali tradition, he gets enamoured of a pretty lady and on the spur of the moment decides to marry her. Notable among these marriages of his are those with Sāmāvatī;[5] Māgandiyā[6] and Śrīmatī.[7] In all of these, he gets enamoured of a woman because of her pretty face and instantly decides to get her by fair means or foul, without trying to find out the suitability of the girl as a wife for him. He even has force and coercion brought upon the decision of the great banker Ghosita in giving his foster child, Sāmāvatī in marriage to him.[8]

These incidents establish firmly Udayana's weakness for women. His pleasureloving and sensuous nature is firmly estab-

1. BKM, II, p. 67.
2. KSS, II, T. 6, pp 46-47, Sls 65-73.
3. Svd, Act V, p. 109.
4. BKM, VII, pp. 187-188; KSS, VI, T. 5, 6, 7, pp 139-140.
5. Dh PA, Udv, p. 191.
6. Dh PA, Udv. p. 203. Dvy, XXXVI; p. 528.
7. Dvy, XXXVI, p. 541.
8. Dh PA, Udv, p. 191.

lished by the Mt J also. It states that for seven days, he drank and feasted with his women.[1] The SNA also testifies his weakness for drinks, dances and other sensual pleasures.[2] The Dvy states clearly that Udayana had many harlots.[3]

*Irresponsibility towards kingly duties*

Udayana's weakness for women and his pleasureloving nature naturally resulted in a sad neglect towards kingly duties. As some works testify, he rarely had time left from his sensuous occupations, to devote to the welfare of his people and state. Soon after his anointment as king, he deputed the administration of Kauśāmbī to his, luckily, capable ministers and devoted himself wholeheartedly to hunting and other occupations of the same type.[4] Yaugandharāyaṇa was even forced to chide him for his irresponsibility.[5]

Even during his captivity at Avantī, Udayana was irresponsible enough to enjoy playing a game of love with Vāsavadattā which naturally irritated his faithful minister Yaugandharāyaṇa.[6] This is entirely in keeping with and therefore not unexpected of Udayana's thoughtless and irresponsible attitude towards his duties as a king. When his foremost aim should have been to get free of his bondage as soon as possible, he was not willing to fall in with his minister's plan of escape for him if Vāsavadattā could not be carried away with him.

After his romantic marriage with Vāsavadattā, a lethargy again settled over him. He devoted all his time and energy to his newly wed bride and the pleasures of life. But in the Tvr, he even postpones the Kaumudīmahotsava which he had been planning in association with her when the finding of good hunt is reported to him.[7] His duties as a sovereign were neglected and the ministers were entrusted with all the responsibilities and affairs of state that he himself should have

1. Mt J, J. IV, 375ff, No. 497.
2. SNA, p. 514.
3. Dvy, XXXVI, p. 529.
4. BKM, II, pp. 45-46. Sls. 1-3; KSS, II, T. 3, Sls. 1-5.
5. KSS, II, T. 3, Sls. 22-25.
6. Pry, Act III, pp 92-95.
7. Tvr, Act I, p. 15.

looked after. His ministers complained of it,[1] because this excessive carelessness of his was resulting in a downfall of his state. An upstart, Āruṇi, the Pāñcāla king ousted him away from most of his territories. The Tvr shows even his chamberlain lamenting over the fact that the king was not conscious of his diminishing power.[2]

*Ungratefulness of Udayana*

The DlhJ[3] brings to light another trait of Udayana's character, viz. ungratefulness. It states that Bhaddavatī ( Bhadravatī ), a she-elephant of Udena, went and complained to Lord Buddha that, her master paid her great honour at first while she was of use to him, but when she grew old and useless, she was turned out by the king and was consequently, destitute.

Of course, it is not possible that Bhadravatī, a she-elephant, could have vocally reported all this to Lord Buddha. But it is more than probable that Udayana ungratefully turned her out when she became unable to work and that it came into the notice of people. This must have brought into light Udayana's ungratefulness and later on, this material was utilised into a Jātaka story. There seems no reason, therefore, to disbelieve the information it offers us about Udayana's temperament.

These, then, are the various traits of Udayana's character and temperament. Inspite of his shortcomings, he remained a great king throughout his life because of his able and steadfast ministers, Yaugandharāyaṇa and Rumaṇvān. He was also very talented and accomplished and that is why, the dramatists have always been attracted by his romantic personality which does full justice to the role he has been made to fulfil, by the Sanskrit writers especially.

1. BKM, III, p, 68, Sls. 2-4.
   KSS, III, T. 1, Sls. 3-6.
2. Tvr; Prelude to Act I, pp. 2-3.
3. J. III, 384f, No. 409.

# CHAPTER III

## UDAYANA AND VĀSAVADATTĀ

### *Importance*

To Vāsavadattā goes the main credit for immortalising the romantic legend of king Udayana in ancient Indian literature. His personality would have been devoid of more than half of the magnetism and romantic aura which surrounds him now, had he not come into contact with her. Her romance with Udayana, inspite of being a real life episode, is all that and even more than what a poet or dramatist could have wished for to be the theme of his romantic composition. Vāsavadattā has been truly inseparable from Udayana throughout the long span of the centuries that the Udayana legend has resisted oblivion in the minds of Indian writers.

What raises Vāsavadattā for above the rank of the numerous women who have been romantically linked with Udayana in ancient Indian literature, is the fact that of all these women characters, Vāsavadattā is the only one about whose existence and the role that she played in his life, all the different streams of the legend agree. About her identity, all the various authors who have treated the Udayanakathā, are surprisingly definite and unanimous. The broad outlines of the different versions of her popular romance with Udayana are also strikingly similar. Even the writers who refer to the romance only incidentally because they are not dealing with Udayana's life directly, give us enough grounds to suppose that on this momentous point of the Udayana-Vāsavadattā romance, they hold similar views.[1]

### *Details of Vāsavadattā's family and her maiden life*

About Vāsavadattā's birth and her life before her elopement with Udayana, not much is known as not many literary works have devoted themselves to that part of her life, obviously as she is important to them only in association with Udayana. Only the Kashmirian recensions of the BK, give

1. Kālidāsa; Meghadūta, Pūrvamegha, Sls. 30, 33. pp 25-27.

us some details about her maiden life, It is, perhaps, due to the fact that they have for their hero her son Naravāhandatta and as such they had to concern themselves a little with the whole life of his mother. Their information, however, hopelessly mingles up mythology and reality. According to them, 'In the city of Ujjayinī, reigned king Mahāsena who was the son of Jayasena and the grandson of Mahendravarman. Not having a sword worthy of his strength and a wife of suitably high lineage, he propitiated the goddess Caṇḍī by offering oblations of his flesh. The latter was pleased to grant to him 'a sword which would make him invincible and the assurance of obtaining a suitable wife. She was Aṅgāravatī, daughter of the demon Aṅgāraka. Mahāsena was, henceforth, to be known as Caṇḍamahāsena by virtue of the extremely fierce act that he undertook to please Caṇḍī.' He had now two jewels in his possession, his sword and Naḍāgiri, his elephant.

'One day, Caṇḍamahāsena, in the pursuit of a wild boar, came across a city where he met Aṅgāravatī, his forecasted consort. He managed to kill her father, the notorious demon Aṅgāraka; and bringing her to his capital Ujjayinī, he anointed her his queen.

'In course of time, Aṅgāravatī gave birth to two sons successively who were named Gopālaka and Pālaka. King Caṇḍamahāsena was so happy that he held a festival in honour of Indra. The deity, pleased with the king, told him in a dream that he would get a matchless daughter by his favour. And it so happened that in course of time, a graceful daughter was born to Caṇḍamahāsena. At the same time a heavenly voice ordained that she shall give birth to a son, an incarnation of Kāmadeva who will be the king of the Vidyādharas. The daughter was named Vāsavadattā because she was given as a boon to her father by the deity, Indra who is also known as Vāsava.'[1]

According to the KPP, there were four jewels with king Pajjoya of Avantī, (1) an ironfooted messenger, (2) a fire proof chariot, (3) the elephant Nilagirī and (4) Sivādeī, his wife.[2]

1. KSS, ii-Kthm L, T. 3, Sls. 31-80;
BKM, ii-Kthm L, pp. 47-48, Sls 24-29.
2. KPP, Pradyotakathā, p. 79.

According to the Dh PA also, king Caṇḍapajjota of Ujjenī had five valuable conveyances with him as a reward for his good deeds in a previous birth. These were Bhaddavatikā, a she elephant that could travel fifty Yojanas in a day; Kāka, a slave with a capacity of sixty Yojanas; two mares Celakaṇṭhī and Muñjakesī, both capable of travelling one hundred leagues a day and an elephant Nālāgiri, able to traverse the distance of one hundred and twenty leagues a day.[1] The Pali literature does not pay any attention to Pajjota's wife or wives.

Bhāsa corroborates these statements and informs us that Vāsavadattā was the daughter of king Pradyota Mahāsena and queen Aṅgāravatī[2] of Avantī. Pradyota owned an incomparable elephant named Nalāgiri and a she-elephant called Bhadravatī who belonged to princess Vāsavadattā.[3]

### *Vāsavadattā's father*

Although all the different authorities agree that Vāsavadattā was the princess of Avantī, there is some disagreement about the name of her father. It is agreed that he was Mahāsena, the king of Avantī, but whereas the KSS and the BKM maintain that it was his real name and that Pradyota was a different individual and the then king of Magadha, all the other authorities side together and stoutly maintain that Pradyota was the real name of Vāsavadattā's father who was also called Mahāsena because of the markedly large army that he owned. However, this controversy has been fully discussed before[4] and it has been shown that Vāsavadattā's father was king Pradyota of Avantī who was also known as Mahāsena.

### *Vāsavadattā's mother*

Vasavadattā's mother is generally called Aṅgāravatī in ancient Indian literature. However, the KPP informs us that the name of Pradyota's wife was Śivā ( Sivā )[5], although at another place, it calls Pradyota's queen by the name of Aṅgāravatī adding that she was the head of the eight wives of

1. The Dh PA, i-Udv, p. 196-198.
2. Pry, Act II, p 126; Svd Act VI, p. 103.
3. Pry, Act IV, p. 102.
4. Chap. I–Age and genealogy, pp. 13-17.
5. KPP, Pradyotakathā, p. 79.

Pradyota[1]. Therefore, as Gune observes, 'There is not much controversy in it.'[2] Either Vāsavadattā's mother had two names or what is more probable Pradyota might have had more than one wife of whom, Aṅgāravatī was Vāsavadattā's mother and as such she is the only one of his wives who is mentioned in the plays which have Vāsavadattā for their heroine.

Thus, it is evident that Vāsavadattā was the princess of Avantī in Udayana's times, her parents were king Pradyota and his wife queen Aṅgāravatī. She had two brothers who were named Gopālaka and Pālaka. Prior to her romance with Udayana, she, most probably, spent her maiden life in the normal way of the princesses of those times, i.e., in getting accomplished and in enjoying the innocent pleasures that their circumscribed lives afforded.

*Proposals for marriage*

After her attaining the marriagable age, negotiations for her marriage were afoot. Because of Pradyota's noble family and high status as the king of Avantī, one of the four most eminent kingdoms of those times and also because of her uncommon beauty and accomplishments, reports of which must have spread far and wide, Vāsavadattā's hand was being sought for by almost all the eligible contemporary kings and princes. Bhāsa informs us that at the time of Udayana's capture by Pradyota's forces, proposals for Vāsavadattā's marriage had already been received by her father from Māgadha, Kāśirāja, Vāṅga, Saurāṣṭra, Maithila and Śūrasena.[3] According to the Vvd, her hand had been requested by Sañjaya, the son of the king of Aśmaka, Mādhura king Jayavarman; Kāśīpati Viṣṇusena, Darśaka, king of Magadha; Jayaratha, king of Anga, Śatamanyu, the ruler of Matsya and Sindhurāja Subāhu.[4] It also adds that Pradyota had, at first, decided to bestow her hand on Sañjaya, the prince of Aśmaka but had, later on, changed his decision because of his overpowering affection for her.[5] Bhavabhūti also refers to

1. KPP, Mṛgāvatīvṛttānta, p. 236.
2. A. B. I., Vol. II, 1920-21 (July 1920), 'Pradyota, Udayana and Śrenika–a Jain legend.'
3. Pry, Act II, Sl, 8.
4. Vvd, Act I, p. 6.
5. Vvd, Act I, p. 2, Sl. 4.

Pradyota's betrothing Vāsavadattā to Sañjaya, maintaining, however, that he did not go back on his decision.[1] All the same, it is difficult to accept this information unreservedly as Bhāsa does not confirm it.[2] We can safely conclude only that proposals for Vāsavadattā's marriage had been received by her father from almost all the contemporary princes excepting from the one who was destined to get her, viz Vatsarāja Udayana.

*Romance with Udayana*

As has been stated above, the tradition of Udayana's elopement and subsequent marriage with Vāsavadattā is found with surprising similarity, in all the three ancient Indian literatures–Sanskrit, Pali and Prakrit. The agreed broad outlines of the celebrated romance come to this :

'Pradyota, the mighty king of Avantī is desirous of capturing Udayana, the king of Vatsa and finding it impossible to achieve his object by mere force as Udayana is an equally strong opponent, he takes recourse to a stratagem. Aware that Udayana is adept in capturing wild elephants and taming them, he gets made up a huge wooden elephant which moves with the help of a machine set inside it to give it an appearance of reality and has it placed on the frontiers of Vatsa. All around the artificial elephant, his hidden warriors are lying in wait for Udayana who is informed by a huntsman of the elephant's supposed wanderings on his territory. This makes him hasten there and set out to charm the wild beast with the help of his lute, without any suspicion of treachery in his mind. While he is thus engaged, a huge host of Pradyota's men comes out of hiding and attacks him. Inspite of his defending himself valiantly, he loses the battle and is taken over to Avantī as a prisoner. There, during his captivity princess Vāsavadattā falls in love with him. Udayana persuades her to elope with him and is ultimately successful. Procuring Bhadravatī, they flee away together and reach Kauśāmbī safely and in triumph.'

But apart from this bare outline of the famous episode, there are many vital points of difference in the accounts given by

1. Mālatīmādhava, Act II, p. 57.
2. Pry, Act II, Sl. 8.

the different works. It is necessary, therefore, to resolve them and try to find out the truth as far as possible.

Detailed accounts of Vāsavadattā's romance with Udayana can be classified in four different versions : (a) the version given by the Kashmirian BK recensions, (b) The version found in Bhāsa's two plays, (c) The Pali version and (d) the Prakrit version. The incomplete Vvd, Śrīharṣa's Prd and the BKŚS also give important information about the romance. It is also referred to in Kālidāsa's Meghadūta, Bhavabhūti's Mālatīmādhava and the Prk.

*The Kashmirian BK version of the BKM and the KSS*

The BKM and the KSS give similar versions as usual but the former's is comparitively shorter. According to them, 'Udayana succeeded to the kingdom of Vatsa after the death of his father. He was given to pleasures such as hunting and music. However, he was very anxious to get a wife suitable to his family, position and personality. He had heard of the uncommon beauty of Vāsavadattā, daughter of king Mahāsena of Ujjayinī but did not know of any means to obtain her as he was too proud to request Pradyota for her hand. Mahāsena, on his part, thought that no other prince but Vatsarāja was fit to espouse his daughter but since he was his political rival, Mahāsena wanted to find out some means to make Udayana a son-in-law and his vassal. He saw a way out in the well-known weakness of Udayana for capturing elephants. He would take Udayana captive while on a hunt, make him teach music to his daughter and when Udayana became enamoured of her, he would make a tame son-in-law of him. Deciding on this course of action, Mahāsena consulted his old minister Buddhadatta who wisely advised him to try peaceful means first. Accepting this prudent counsel, Mahāsena, first of all, sent a messenger to Udayana with the following message, "My daughter wishes to be your pupil in the art of music, you will, therefore, please come here out of regard for us and teach her music." Udayana with his exceptionally rash temperament, naturally, got wild at this message and decided on fighting out the insult with Mahāsena but was checked by his prudent and astute minister Yaugandharāyaṇa who made him realise the fact that Mahāsena possessed an invincible sword and a

mountainlike victorious elephant called Naḍāgiri and his sons Gopālaka and Pālaka were both very brave and, therefore, it was not the proper time. Moreover, Udayana had neither sufficient power nor army to undertake that risk. Thus desisted, Udayana through his own messenger sent a message in reply, 'If your daughter wishes to be my pupil in music, send her to me as it is the student who goes to the teacher's place and not vice versa.'

'Udayana's messenger reached Ujjayinī and delivered his reply to Caṇḍamahāsena. Mahāsena then came to realise how proud Udayana was. But it was not considered proper to send Vāsavadattā to Udayana and he had to be brought there by any means whatsoever. So Mahāsena took recourse to a stratagem.

He knew that Udayana was extremely fond of capturing elephants. He got prepared a huge wooden elephant resembling Naḍāgiri and sent it with armed men inside it, into the Vindhya forests where, he had learnt, Udayana was out on a hunt at that time. When the latter was informed by his huntsmen that such an elephant was roaming in his territory near the frontiers, he instantly became keen on capturing and taming it so that he could have a fit match for Naḍāgiri which would lead to Mahāsena's coming in his power and consequently offering him his daughter Vāsavadattā. Therefore, he set out to overpower the seemingly real elephant and on reaching the place left his retinue behind, lest a crowd should excite the beast. The huntsmen showed him the elephant in the southern side of the Vindhya from afar and the king was taken in by the ruse played upon him. He proceeded alone towards the elephant, playing all the time on Ghoṣavatī, and singing to its tune. While he was thus engaged, the hidden warriors came out, taking Udayana by surprise; and after some valiant defence on his part, he was imprisoned and taken to Ujjayinī. The people of Avantī were charmed by his exceptional good looks and noble bearing; they decided to die along with him if he was killed. Mahāsena, however, appeased them by assuring them that he had no such evil intention. Udayana was treated with respect and was asked to teach music to princess Vāsavadattā, with the assurance that it was for his ultimate

good. Udayana agreed and was soon enamoured of the beautiful princess.

Meanwhile, Yaugandharāyaṇa, when he was informed of his master's capture by Mahāsena's warriors, handed over the work of administration to Rumaṇvān and accompanied by Vasantaka, went to Ujjayinī to secure the release of their master. On reaching Ujjayinī, he changed his form into that of an ugly hunchbacked beggar with the help of his friends Yogeśvara a Brahmarākṣasa. Vasantaka was also changed into an unsightly lunatic. Yaugandharāyaṇa secretly manoeuvred to find out the whereabouts of Udayana whom he managed to meet unobserved with the help of the Yogic powers that he had acquired. He also arranged for Vasantaka to be admitted in the princess apartments as a poor Brāhmaṇa clown who was then appointed to tell stories to Vāsavadattā. They waited till Vāsavadattā was fully enamoured of Udayana and agreed to elope with him.

Yaugandhārāyaṇa had already arranged for the elopement by bribing the guide of Bhadravatī, the nimble footed she-elephant which was given to Vāsavadattā by her father. Naḍāgiri also was equally swift but he would not harm the she-elephant, it was wellknown. So Yaugandharāyaṇa asked Udayana to ride on Bhadravatī and run away from Avantī. The elopement was thus arranged and was carried out quietly one evening. Udayana took on Bhadravatī all the weapons belonging to him, his lute Ghoṣavatī, Vasantaka, Vāsavadattā and Kāñcanamālā–one of the princess' maidservants and fled away from Ujjayinī. The gatekeepers Vīrabāhu and Tālabhaṭa who created a row and obstructed him were killed by him and he proceeded further onwards. But, meanwhile, Mahāsena had got scent of the affair. When Pālaka, the younger prince came to know of the elopement, he jumped on Naḍāgiri and pursued the elopees. But Mahāsena who, after all desired the alliance, sent Gopālaka after him to call him back and to forbid any fight on the part of the Āvantika warriors. Bhadravatī then went on unhindered for about sixtythree Yojanas when becoming thirsty, she drank too much water and out of fatigue, fell down dead.

'Udayana, however, at this juncture fortunately met his ally Pulindaka, the chief of the wild tribe of the Vindhya regions, who had already been prepared for it by Yaugandharāyaṇa on his way to Avantī. The latter also joined them there as previously arranged. Likewise the Commander-in-chief Rumaṇvān with his full force came there. All of them encamped in the Vindhya forests for some days and partook of Pulindaka's hospitality. It was here that they got a message from the king of Avantī, voicing his approval of Udayana's carrying off Vāsavadattā surreptitiously. Immediately, Udayana with Vāsavadattā and all his retinue went to Kauśāmbī where at Gopālaka's arrival, the latter gave away his sister in marriage to Udayana along with many other gifts. Vatsarāja, as he was pleased with his ministers Yaugandharāyaṇa, Rumaṇvān, Vasantaka and others, granted them handsome rewards and villages.'[1]

*The Bhāsa version*

Bhāsa's version of the romance as found in his drama, the Pry goes thus :

'Udayana Vatsarāja, in the course of his hunting, passed from Veṇuvana to Nāgavana and he saw an artificial elephant which had been deliberately placed there beforehand by the orders of Pradyota Mahāsena, the powerful ruler of Avantī. Udayana was taken in by the clever device and taking it to be a real elephant tried to enchant him with the help of his lute. At the same time, his army which had previously been forbidden by him to follow him, was diverted away by the appear ance of a huge lion at the rear. Availing of this opportunity, Pradyota's warriors came out of the artificial elephant and surrounded Udayana to attack him. Although he did not lose his nerves and fought bravely to avert his capture by the enemy yet he was struck by weapons and fell down unconscious with his horse Sundarapāṭala. He was at first bound by the wild creepers but Śālankāyana, one of Pradyota's ministers, who had at first become unconscious in the course of the fight, revived at this juncture, had Udayana set free from the bindings and carried him in a palanquin to Ujjayinī treating him

1. KSS, IInd Kthm L, T. 3-6, pp. 32-46;
BKM, IInd Kthm L, Guccha II, pp. 46, 67.

with respect all along, and presented him to his master Pradyota. The latter was overjoyed and gave orders to the effect that Udayana be treated with respect suitable to his royal rank and noble lineage and that his wounds be properly attended to.

'Vāsavadattā, Pradyota's daughter was of the marriagable age at this time and Pradyota was entertaining proposals for her marriage from eligible princes and kings. He had not decided on any particular match by that time as he found none of the offers wholly satisfactory. As Vāsavadattā was very fond of music, Ghoṣavatī, the famous lute of Udayana was presented to her by her father.

'Yaugandharāyaṇa, the Prime Minister of Kauśāmbī, heard about the capture and illtreatment of his master through his spies. In fact he had come to learn even before the unfortunate encounter that such a plan for the capture of Udayana was afoot, and was sending a messenger to warn Udayana against Pradyota's stratagem. But Pradyota was too swift. Yaugandharāyaṇa was outraged at such an insult and took a vow to bring back his master in safety. To achieve this end, he put on the guise of a mad man and disguised thus got into Ujjayinī along with many other officers and spies, all disguised in some way or other. Prominent among these were Rumaṇvān, disguised as an ascetic, and Vasantaka in the disguise of a clown. Yaugandharāyaṇa met them daily and held counsels in secret for the release of Udayana. He also contrived to communicate with the latter and to keep him in the knowledge of further developments. Because of their disguises none of them was suspected or troubled by any citizen of Avantī. Also now that Vatsarāja was in prison, Pradyota and his ministers grew slack. But they were counting without Yaugandharāyaṇa's extraordinary brains who arranged a plan for the release of his master. First of all, he won over some of Pradyota's servants by bribing them with presents etcetera and kept with them some of his own servants also who were waiting for the opportunity. Yaugandharāyaṇa's plan was to get Nalāgiri, the pet elephant of Pradyota intoxicated by various means of producing rut so that when fully intoxicated the elephant would become uncontrolable. Pradyota would then have to

approach Udayana to tame it and thus for curbing Nalāgiri, Vatsarāja would be set free and Ghosavatī would be given to him. Riding on Nalāgiri, Vatsarāja would avail of the opportunity and would run away to Kauśāmbī, followed by his disguised servants. This plan was conveyed to Udayana through the disguised Vasantaka. But Vasantaka met the two ministers at their tryst, with disheartening news from the king who had, meanwhile, fallen in love with princess Vāsavadattā as a result of a chance meeting one day. Therefore, he was not willing to go away without her. At first greatly irritated with the king because of his irresponsibility and lightheartedness, Yaugandharāyaṇa, on cooling down, realised that the insult offered to Kauśāmbī by Pradyota could now be avenged. He decided on kidnapping Vāsavadattā along with Udayana and took upon himself a vow to carry off his master along with Ghosavatī, the she-elephant and Vāsavadattā. The plan was carried out with some modifications. When Vatsarāja was set free to tame the intoxicated Nalāgiri, he availed himself of this opportunity and fled away with Vāsavadattā, riding on Bhadravatī. The army of Pradyota tried to pursue the elopees but was hindered and obstructed by the disguised warriors of Kauśāmbī. Among those, Yaugandharāyaṇa created confusion in the town and especially in the palace and great damage to the forces of Avantī but was ultimately captured. But Pradyota appreciated his loyalty to his master and the meritorious services he had rendered in bringing about the rescue of Vatsarāja. He presented a gold pot to Yaugandharāyaṇa which the latter, at first, refused but when he came to know that Pradyota was in favour of the matrimonial alliance between his daughter and Udayana and was getting the necessary rites performed with their portraits as substitutes, he accepted the reward.

*The Pali version*

The Pali version of the famous romance of Udayana and Vāsavadattā is found in the Dh PA. According to it Pajjota, the king of Avantī was a man of fierce temper and unscrupulous character. Having come to know that Udena, the king of Kosambī surpassed him in glory and splendour, Pajjota got determined to vanquish the latter. However, on being

advised that an open campaign would not succeed against that powerful king, he took recourse to a stratagem. He had made of wood an exact likeness of an elephant and had it cleverly painted so that it gave a semblance of reality, then turned it loose on the bank of a certain lake near the country of his enemy. The men within the belly of the elephant made it walk back and forth and every now and then they loaded their shovels with elephant dung and dumped it out. A certain woodman saw the elephant, and thinking to himself, "Just the king for our king", went and told the king, "Your majesty, I saw a noble elephant, pure white even as the peak of Kelāsa, just the sort of elephant your majesty would like."

Udena mounted his elephant and set out, taking the woodman along as a guide. He was accompanied by his retinue. His approach was observed by spies, who went and informed Caṇḍa Pajjota. The latter straightaway dispatched armies on both flanks of his enemy, allowing the space between them to remain open. Udena, unaware of his enemy's approach continued to pursue the artificial elephant. He recited his spell and played his lute but all to no purpose. The wooden elephant, driven with great speed by the men concealed inside it, looked as if it failed to hear the charm and continued its flight. The king, unable to overtake the elephant, mounted his horse. On and on, sped the horse, galloping so rapidly that by degrees the army of the king was left far behind and the king was all alone by himself. Then, Caṇḍa Pajjota's men, who were posted on both flanks, captured Udena and turned him over to their king. Udena's army, perceiving that their leader had fallen into the hands of the enemy, built a stockade just outside of Ujjenī and remained there, waiting for their master's return.

Caṇḍa Pajjota, having thus captured Udena alive, clapped him into prison behind closed doors and kept wassail for three days. On the third day, Udena asked his keepers, "Friends, where is your king ?" "Carousing, for says he, I have landed my enemy." "What does your king mean by acting like a woman ? He has captured a royal adversary and surely ought either to release him or to kill him. He has brought humiliation upon us and is carousing-indeed." The keepers went to

their king and reported it. The latter came to the prison and offered to release Udena if he would impart to Pajjota the mysterious power of taming elephants that he reportedly possessed. Udena agreed to do so only if Pajjota would bow to him. Pajjota rejected the suggestion outright. But without this condition being fulfilled, Udena was determined not to impart the charm, inspite of Pajjota's threat to kill him. The latter then prudently realised that he could as well get the secret from some one else who was taught by Udena. So he asked the latter if he would impart the charm to anyone who paid him homage by bowing to him. On Udena's answering in the affirmative, Pājjota planned a trick. He asked Udena to impart the charm to an old hunchbacked woman who lived in the royal palace but the lessons were to be imparted with a curtain between the teacher and the taught. He also told his daughter Vāsuladattā that she had to learn a charm from a leper from behind a curtain—so careful was the king to prevent an improper and undesirable intimacy between the two. So the lessons progressed as desired by the king. But one day, when in the course of the tution, the royal tutor rehearsed the charm many times and his unseen pupil was still slow to catch it and reproduced it only in an incorrect form, the tutor was annoyed and cried out deprecatingly, "Dunce of a hunchback your lips are too thick and your cheeks are too pudgy, say it like this." The princess at this unexpected insult, very indignantly retorted, "Villain of a leper." "What do you mean by calling me a hunchback ? Are people like me called hunchbacks ?" This made Udena lift the fringe of the curtain and seeing her, he asked who she was. On her replying that she was Vāsuladattā, the king's daughter, Pajjota's deception was discovered for they confided in each other that it was he who had misinformed them about each other, in order to avoid an intimacy between them. Udena went in where their acquaintance developed. From that day onwards there was no more imparting of lessons or learning of charms and arts.

'Pajjota asked his daughter everyday if she was progressing with her lessons. She kept his suspicions allayed by answering in the affirmative always. Then one day Udena coaxed her thus. "What a husband can do for his wife, neither her

parents nor any other relation can do. If you were to give me my life, I will give you a household of five hundred women attendants and will also anoint you my chief queen." She agreed to give him his life if he was to stand by his promise. Upon his reiterating it, they laid together a counterplot. When their plans were complete, Vāsuladattā told her father that in order to succeed in learning the charm, it would be necessary for her to procure a herb under a certain conjunction of stars and she should have the right to use a gate in the city wall and a conveyance always at her command. Her request was granted by the unsuspecting Pajjota and thus she secured the use of Pajjota's she-elephant Bhaddavatī which was very swift of foot, and the permission to use a certain gate at any time she chose. One day when Pajjota was out on a pleasure trip to his garden, the two conspirators filled several large bags with gold and silver coins, placed these on Bhaddavatī's back and riding on her fled away. The harem guards gave the alarm. When Pajjota came to know of the elopement, he sent his soldiers in hot pursuit.

When the pursuers were about to reach the elopees, Udena first opened a sack of gold and then one of silver scattering the coins on the road behind him so that while the pursuers tarried out of greed in picking the coins, he forged ahead. When they were again about to reach him, he resorted to the same trick. Thus by repeating the temptation whenever he was in danger of being caught, he reached the stockade in safety where his soldiers awaited him. They conducted him and Vāsuladattā to Kosambī where with due pomp and ceremony she was anointed Udena's chief consort, attended by five hundred women as promised by Udena.[1]

*The Prakrit version*

The Prakrit version of the matrimonial alliance between the royal families of Avantī and Vatsa as given by the KPP, goes thus : 'King Pajjoya of Ujjeṇī had a daughter called Vāsavadattā. She was adept in many arts. Pajjoya wanted her to learn music, if possible, from Udayaṇa who was famous for his knowledge of this subject. Pondering over the ways of captur-

1. Dh PA, i, ii, i-Udv, pp. 191-199.

ing Udayaṇa in order to bring him to Ujjeṇī, he remembered to have heard that Udayaṇa was very fond of elephants and would tame the wildest by his music. So he had an artificial mechanical elephant prepared with men inside it and had it placed in a forest near Kosambī. The army of Ujjeṇī was established near the elephant. Udayaṇa, hearing a rumour that a wild elephant was wandering in his forest, went to get it tamed by his music. When he began to sing, the elephant which was being moved through the machine set inside it by the hidden men, stood still as if affected by the music. As Udayaṇa tried to get on its back, it proved a veritable Trojan horse and produced soldiers who bound Udayaṇa bodily and took him to king Pajjoya. The latter told Udayaṇa that he would have to teach music to his daughter but as she was blind he should not see her lest she felt ashamed. He also told her daughter that her teacher was a leper so she should not make any attempt to see him. She was to be taught from behind a curtain. Inspite of all these precautions on Pajjoya's part, his daughter began to love her teacher for his sweet voice and longed for some pretext to have a look at him. Distracted by such thoughts, one day she repeated the lesson in an incorrect way. Udayaṇa, enraged at it, exclaimed, "Be hanged blind one." She retorted, "O leper, you do not know yourself." Udayaṇa then thought that she was no more blind than he was a leper and removed the curtain. Each of them was fascinated by the extraordinary beauty of the other and fell in love at first sight. Kāñcaṇamālā, the princess' nurse was the only third person who knew of their attachment.

Meanwhile, once the elephant Nalagirī got loose from his pillar post and could not be caught by anyone. On being consulted by Pajjoya, Abhaya advised him to ask Udayaṇa to tame Nalagirī by his music. Pajjoya, accordingly, asked Udayaṇa to sing who agreed to comply with the request only on condition that he and the princess would sing together, riding on Bhaddavaī, the she elephant of Pajjoya, with a screen between them. Pajjoya agreed and Nalagirī was controlled by Udayaṇa's music. Because of her proficiency in music, Vāsavadattā was to sing in front of her father who went away to his pleasure garden, asking Udayaṇa to follow him with the princess.

'In order to take back his master to Kausambi, Udayana's Minister, Jogandharāiṇa was hiding in Ujjeṇī in the disguise of a madman. This opportunity was seized by him as he had taken unto himself a vow to carry away for his master Udayaṇa, the princess Vāsavadattā, the lute Ghosavaī and the she-elephant Bhaddavaī. Nobody paid any attention to this maniac, least of all Pajjoya who found him creating nuisance on the road. Jogandharāiṇa filled four jars with the urine of Bhaddavaī. Then riding on Bhaddavaī, with Ghosavaī in his hands and along with Vāsavadattā, Kañcaṇamālā and his friend Vasantaga, Udayaṇa declared in front of the citizens that the four of them were going away, taking Ghosavaī with them. People took it to mean that he was going away to Pajjoya in the garden. They led Bhaddavaī by the road going to Kauśāmbī instead of taking her to the king's garden. When Pajjoya came to know of this, he ordered his warriors to ride Nalagirī and to bring back Udayaṇa. By the time the followers neared the runaways, they had gone away twentyfive yojanas. When the runaways realised that their pursuers were nearing them, one of the jars of urine was smashed on the road so that Nalagirī paused on the road to smell it. Again, Bhaddavaī covered twentyfive yojanas. The same trick was repeated when Nalagirī was again about to reach them. The remaining two jars were also smashed in the same way. By that time, Udayaṇa had reached Kosambī in safety.'[1]

*The Vīṇāvāsavadattam version*

Apart from these four versions, the story of the Udayana-Vāsavadattā romance is also found in an incomplete form in the Vvd, a play with the same theme as the Pry. In the first act, Pradyota is shown holding. consultations with his ministers about the selection of a bridegroom for his daughter, Vāsavadattā. Formerly, he had decided to give her away to Sañjaya, son of the king of Aśmaka but now that he has had a dream in which Lord Śiva has stipulated the qualities that his son-in-law should have, he rejects Sañjaya. Vasavarmā then ventures to suggest Vatsarāja Udayana as the bridegroom, Lord Śiva had meant, as he has all the qualifications laid down by the deity. But Pradyota has his

1. KPP, Pradyotakathā, pp 80-82.

hesitations about proposing the marriage as Udayana is known to be very haughty. His ministers counsel him to bring Udayana to Ujjayinī so that all of them could decide on his suitability as a bridegroom. Bharatarohaka then suggests that by resorting to a stratagem, the invincible Vatsarāja could be captured for he was very fond of elephants. It is an opportune moment for them as he has already entered Hastivana and Bharatarohaka has four artificial elephants ready for this very purpose.

In the second act, Udayana out on a hunt in the Śilidhrakaṣaṇḍa Nāgavana, is informed by a spy of Pradyota who is disguised as a huntsman that a magnificent elephant of the colour of a blue lotus is roaming in the Śāla forest on the banks of the Yamunā, only at a distance of a yojana. In fact, Śālankāyana is hiding there with four hundred warriors to capture Udayana. Yaugandharāyaṇa has been entrusted with the safety of the capital Kauśāmbī and Rumaṇvān has gone away to curb the revolting wild tribes. Forbidding his attendants to follow him, Udayana goes out on the chase all alone where espying the elephant, he begins to play on Ghoṣavatī. At once, he is surrounded by armed men. Inspite of fighting valiantly to defend his freedom, he is ultimately overpowered by Śālankāyana.

In the third act, Yaugandharāyaṇa comes to know of this calamity from Haṃsaka and decides to apparently commit suicide by jumping in the burning fire but in reality to go to Ujjayinī in the disguise of a maniac to plan his master's release. The people of Kauśāmbī are consternated when they hear of the fake suicide. Meanwhile, Yaugandharāyaṇa has sent a message to Rumaṇvān to come immediately to Kauśāmbī in view of such an unexpected calamity. He also causes a rumour to be spread through Hamsaka that the king has been killed in an encounter with the Āvantika force.

The fourth act shows Haṃsaka in Ujjayinī in the disguise of a clown. The play ends here abruptly, leaving the reader to suppose that the rest of the episode happened as in the Pry. Only here Haṃsaka is apparently playing the role of Vasantaka and it is doubtful whether the pair was joined in Ujjayinī by Rumaṇvān as in the Pry or not, as in the Kashmirian BK version.

*Points of agreement*

The notable points of agreement in all these versions are the following :—

(a) The stratagem that Pradyota resorted to to capture Udayana and to bring him to Ujjayinī is the same in all the versions with agreement in even the smallest detail. All agree that the wooden elephant had armed warriors inside it; that it was placed on the frontiers of Udayana's territory; and that Udayana was all alone when he was captured while trying to win it over.

(b) According to all the versions of the legend, Udayana was appointed music-teacher to Vāsavadattā; yet there are differences on the details pertaining to this point.

(c) The conveyance that Udayana used while fleeing away with Vāsavadattā is the same i.e. Pradyota's she-elephant Bhadravatī which was in Vāsavadattā's possession at the time of the elopement.

(d) The ultimate success of the elopement and Vāsavadattā's getting married to Udayana and being anointed queen of Kauśāmbī is also agreed upon by all the different authorities.

*Points of difference*

The vital points of difference between the different versions of the legend are :

(a) About Pradyota's motive in capturing Udayana. Had he fixed upon Udayana as a suitable bridegroom for his beloved daughter from the very beginning and it was for this purpose that he wanted to bring Udayana to Ujjayinī or was he jealous of Udayana's splendour and power and had him captured for sheer political reasons ?

(b) About details of the way in which Udayana taught music to his fair pupil, Vāsavadattā.

(c) Treatment of Udayana, the prisoner at Ujjayinī.

(d) About Pradyota's reaction to the news of his daughter's elopement with Udayana.

(e) About details of the conspiracy which Udayana resorted to to outwit Pradyota. Yaugandharāyaṇa's role in the plan of escape is not agreed upon nor are minor details about the flight identical in all the accounts.

The first three controversial issues centre round the one momentous point,–what was Pradyota's motive in having Udayana captured and brought to Ujjayinī?

*(a) The motive behind Pradyota's capture of Udayana*

According to the Kashmirian BK recensions, Mahāsena, the father of Vāsavadattā, from the beginning, had Udayana in his mind as the only suitable bridegroom for his beautiful daughter but he could not bring himself down to send the proposal himself as it would have meant humiliating himself before Udayana with whom he was not on good terms.[1] The KSS adds that Udayana also had fixed his mind on Vāsavadattā, the princess of Avantī, as the only suitable bride for him, but in his case also pride forbade any negotiations on his part.[2] When Udayana was brought to Ujjayinī as a captive, he was honourably and politely treated. Mahāsena in accordance with his original plan, entrusted his daughter Vāsavadattā to Udayana as his pupil in music and lute playing.[3] The KSS adds that he also assured Udayana that it would ultimately lead to his good and therefore he should not be downhearted.[4]

But the Pali version of the legend stoutly maintains that Pradyota was jealous of Udayana's superior splendour and had him captured out of sheer jealousy.[5] Moreover, he wanted to get from Udayana the secret of the latter's miraculous power over elephants. It was for this specific purpose that he asked his daughter Vāsavadattā to be a pupil of Udayana.[6]

*(b) The music-lessons*

Again, the Kashmirian BK tradition maintains that Pradyota appointed Udayana music teacher to his daughter Vāsavadattā so that in the normal course of events, an attachment would develope between the two. The Pali tradition also agrees that Vāsavadattā was deputed to learn the secret of Udayana's power over elephants which consisted in Udayana's superior lute playing and also in a charm that he knew. But

1. KSS, II, T 3, Sls 8–12; BKM, II, g 2 p 46, Sls 4–5
2. KSS, II, T. 3, Sls. 6–7.
3. BKM, II Kthm L. g 2, p 49, Sls. 46–47; KSS, II, T 4, Sls 27–37
4. KSS, II, T. 4, Sl 28.
5. DhPA, Udv, pp. 191–192.
6. DhPA, Udv, pp. 193–194.

it maintains that caution made Pradyota misinform both the teacher and the pupil about the identity and personality of the other and that the lessons were to be imparted with a curtain between the fair pupil and the handsome teacher.[1] "So careful was the king to prevent an improper intimacy between the two."[2] The attachment which sprang up between the young princess and the royal prisoner was none of Pradyota's planning. In fact, on his part, he undertook all possible precautions to prevent such an undesirable happening.

According to Bhāsa also, Udayana taught music to Vāsavadattā, for at the close of the Pry, Bharatarohaka asks Yaugandharāyaṇa if it were proper to carry away the daughter of Mahāsena like a robber when she was not given away and when, moreover, Udayana had accepted her as a pupil, in front of the fire ?[3] But a passage in the same play, makes us believe that on this point, Bhāsa was inspired by the Pali version of the legend. When the ministers of Udayana are conspiring to bring about the release of their master, Vasantaka throws cold water on their scheme saying, "On the Kālāṣṭamī just past, princess Vāsavadattā with only her nurse as companion, ····went to perform the worship at the site of the Yakṣiṇī which is just next to the door of the prison cells.... Our lord, having, that very day, won over Śivadāsa, the guard of the internal prison, had come out to the door. There, he gazed at the princess when the carriers of the palanquin halted there in order to change their shoulders. Now treating his prison as a pleasure garden of the harem, he is busy playing the game of love."[4]

This makes it clear that Bhāsa believed that Udayana saw Vāsavadattā only accidentally and without Pradyota's knowledge; and that, while composing the Pry, Bhāsa was clear in his mind that the romance between Vāsavadattā and Udayana developed neither within Pradyota's knowledge nor with his approval.

The Svd is also full of Udayana's reminiscences of the happy

1. Dh PA, II, 1-Udv. pp. 193–195.
2. N. N. Ghosh : E. H. K. p. 14.
3. Pry, Act IV.
4. Pry, Act III, pp. 93–94.

times when he taught luteplaying to Vāsavadattā.[1] From these allusions, it appears that during the lessons, there was no curtain between the two, e. g., he accuses Ghoṣavatī of ungratefulness for 'she does not remember Vāsavadattā's various kindnesses to herself, ( her ) wailings for Udayana during separation and her remarks accompanied by smiles during the chang of the musical instruments."[2]

But this does not create any difficulty in the way of accepting the Pry's contention that Udayana saw Vāsavadattā only accidentally. Because this could as well allude to the later development of the romance when Udayana having accidentally seen Vāsavadattā, was indulging in amorous amusements with her.

The Prakrit version of the legend does not side with either of the two contentions. It does not ever specify that Pradyota had Udayana brought to Ujjayinī because he wanted to marry Vāsavadattā to the latter; and it also does not say that his motive behind the capture was political rivalry. It imputes a third motive to Pradyota saying that he had Udayana captured because he wanted to bring Udayana to Ujjayinī so that Vāsavadattā could learn music from him.[3]

But about the details of the music lessons, the Prakrit tradition agrees with the Pali tradition. It supports the contention that the lessons were imparted with a curtain in between the teacher and the pupil, and that Pradyota misinformed each of them about the identity and personality of the other. It was only an accident that his precautions against the development of an attachment between the two were foiled and that the romance never came to Pradyota's knowledge throughout the time Udayana was a prisoner. It was only when the elopement had already taken place that he came to know of it.[4]

*( c ) Treatment of Udayana, the prisoner at Ujjayinī*

The Kashmirian BK tradition would have us believe also that during his captivity Udayana was treated not as a prisoner

1. Svd, Act VI, pp. 120–121, Sls. 1, 2.
2. Ibid.
3. KPP, Pradyotakathā, p. 80.
4. Ibid., pp. 80–81.

but as an honoured guest.[1] The Pali tradition again differs and clearly states that the treatment meted out to Udayana at Ujjayinī was exactly what would be expected in the case of a vanquished enemy. According to it, Udayana was put in fetters and was thrown in a prison cell where the door was closed upon him. In fact, he was having a miserable time there because he complained to the guards that it was improper for their king to celebrate his victory when his enemy was suffering in the prison cells.[2]

Bhāsa's views about this controversial issue are definite. He follows the Pali tradition and believes that Udayana was in fetters as a prisoner during his captivity. Of course, in the beginning when he was wounded, he was accorded due consideration by Pradyota,[3] but when he was well again, he was put in prison.[4] Yaugandharāyaṇa, while planning the conspiracy, pays special attention to this problem. He plans to intoxicate Nalāgirī so that Pradyota would have Udayana's fetters removed in order to have Nalāgirī controlled. The latter was to avail himself of this opportunity and to flee away on Nalāgirī.[5] Later on, when Bharatarohaka points out that Mahāsena had treated Udayana considerately, Yaugandharāyaṇa retorts that his master was set free only in order to have Nalāgirī curbed.[6]

The aforesaid plan of Yaugandharāyaṇa is confirmed by the Prākrit version of the legend. The KPP and the Prk, both allude to Nalāgirī's intoxication and subsequently getting loose from his pillar post and Udayana's ultimate taming of him.[7]

Kālidāsa also refers to Nalagiri's intoxication in his Meghadūta[8] and thus indicates that he believed in the Bhāsa version of the legend that a device utilised to get Udayana free of fetters.

1. BKM, II-Kthm L, g. 2, p. 49, Sls. 46-47; KSS, II-Kthm L, T. 4, Sls. 23-28.
2. Dh PA, Udv, p. 193.
3. Pry, Act II, p. 63.
4. Pry, Act III, p. 93.
5. Pry, Acts III, pp. 90-91.
6. Pry, Act IV, p. 121, Sl. 19.
7. KPP, Pradyotakathā, p. 81; Prk, 19; Vrdpr, p. 86.
8. Pūrvamegha, Sl. 33, p. 27.

On this vital issue, Śrīharṣa also supports the Pali tradition. In the Prd, we find the clown Vasantaka complaining thus, "O friend, why do you praise that contemptible and miserable captivity ? Have you forgotten that you did not experience the joy of sleep in the nights, like the newly captured leader of a herd ( of elephants ), with ( your ) faltering feet fastened with iron chains rattling again and again, with the distress of ( your ) heart betrayed in ( your ) black lotus like face, with ( your ) eyes fixed in a stare on account of anger, and with the bare earth for your seat ?"

The king confirms Vasantaka's account of his captivity, saying "Vasantaka, you are indeed a wicked fellow.

"It was the prison, impenetrable on account of darkness, that was seen ( by you ), ( but ) not the lustre of her moonlike face; the sound of the fetters was distressing to you, ( but ) her sweet words were not heard ( by you ); the cruel guards of the prison are now ( present ) in your mind, ( but ) not ( her ) loving looks, you see the defects of the prison ( but ) not the virtues of Pradyota's daughter."[1]

In the third act, Vāsavadattā also confirms it : "Indīvarikā, I was taught to play on the vīṇā by my lord bound in fetters. So make him fettered with this garland of blue lotuses."[2]

This harsh treatment is not to be expected from Pradyota if he had already set his heart upon making Udayana his son-in-law.

*( d ) Pradyota's reaction to the elopement of his daughter*

There is also difference of opinion between the various authorities about the attitude of Pradyota when he came to know about Udayana's escape and that too with his daughter Vāsavadattā. Both the Pali and the Prakrit versions of the legend maintain that Udayana's escape enraged Pradyota and he ordered his warriors to pursue the escapees and capture them in their flight. That his attempt to recapture Udayana and check his flight was foiled was wholly due to Udayana's cunning plans.[3] But the Sanskrit works contradict this, saying that

1. Prd, Act I, pp 9-11, Sl. 7.
2. Prd, Act III, p. 59.
3. Dh PA, Udv, pp. 198-199, KPP, Pradyotakathā, pp. 81-82.

although an attempt to follow Udayana was made by the Āvantika army when the fight was discovered, it was done without any instigation on Prdyota's part, and he actually ordered to stop the fight that ensued after Udayana's escape from prison and which would have assumed serious proportions.[1] The Kashmirian BK tradition, moreover, asserts that Pradyota sent his elder son Gopālaka to stop the fight between his younger son Pālaka and Udayana.[2] This controversy about Pradyota's reaction to the news of his daughter's elopement with Udayana, the royal prisoner, also rests on the motive which made Pradyota capture Udayana by means of a ruse. If he had the latter brought to Ujjayinī with the ultimate end of marrying him to Vāsavadattā, her elopement would not have stung him so poignantly. On the other hand, if he had Udayana captured out of sheer jealousy and for political supremacy, the unexpected escape would definitely have touched him on the raw.

Thus, for resolving all these controversies, we will have to concentrate on the vital controversial issue, –Pradyota's motive behind the capture of Udayana. The Kashmirian BK recensions on the one hand and the Pali tradition on the other, are two unyielding adversaries which impute two distinctly different motives to Pradyota. We shall now make an attempt to find out the views of all the other authorities on this point.

*The version of Bhāsa*

A close scrutiny of the two plays of Bhāsa throws quite some light on this point.

A passage in the Svapnavāsasvadattam tells us that Bhāsa believed in the Kashmirian Bṛhatkathā version of the legend. In the sixth act of the play, when Udayana after his marriage with Padmāvatī, is reinstalled on the throne of Kauśāmbī, Aṅgāravatī, the mother of Vāsavadattā, sends this message to him : "Although Vāsavadattā is dead, yet to me and to Mahāsena you are as dear as ( our sons ) Gopālaka and Pālaka, because we selected you from the very first for our son-in-law. For this very reason you were brought to Ujjayinī. We bestowed

1. KSS, II, T. 5, Sls. 23-30; BKM, II, g. 2, pp. 56–58, Sls. 138–157.
2. KSS, II, T. 5, Sl. 30; BKM, II, g. 2, p. 57, Sls. 140–141.

her upon you under the pretext of ( lessons in ) lute without any rites with the fire as witness. But you, through your impatience fled away before the nuptial ceremonies had been performed. Thereupon we had the portraits of you and Vāsavadattā painted on a picture board and celebrated the marriage. Here we send you the picture board. Look at it and be consoled."

But the Pry, the other play of Bhāsa which is based on the very theme of Udayana's encounter with Pradyota and subsequent romance with Vāsavadattā, shows that while composing it, Bhāsa believed in the Pali version of the legend that Pradyota's aim in capturing Udayana was purely a political one and although he later became reconciled to the idea of his daughter's matrimonial alliance with Udayana, the king of Kauśāmbī, in the beginning, such an idea was furtherest from his mind e. g. when his wife proposes Udayana as a son-in-law when she hears of the latter's capture by their forces, Pradyota at once turns it down saying "He is a vanquished enemy of mine."[1]

When she insists saying "All these qualities are desirable in a bridegroom; what turns these into disqualifications ?"; he chides her saying "Lady ! why are you wondering in an improper place ?

"Fire when thrown on a tuft of grass burns the whole earth; but my fiery orders when they reach the bounds of his country, stop there ( This disqualifies him as a bridegroom )."[2]

In fact the Pry makes it clear that when ordering the capture of Udayana and even when Udayana was brought to Ujjayinī as a captive, Pradyota had no idea in his mind of making the latter his son-in-law. His motive behind the capture was merely political.

As we have seen before,[3] the Vvd also maintains that Udayana was brought to Ujjayinī with the specific purpose of

1. Sv D, Act VI, p. 131.
2. Pry, Act II, p. 58.
3. Pry, Act II, p. 61, Sl. 11.
4. Vvd, Act 1, pp. 6–11.

getting him married to Vāsavadattā if he was found fulfilling all the necessary qualifications that Lord Śiva had laid-down.[1]

Thus, we find that on the vital issue of the motive behind Pradyota's capture of Udayana, the Kashmirian BK tradition holds along with the two plays, the Svd and the Vvd, that Udayana was brought to Ujjayinī with a view to get him married to the former's daughter.

Now, it is evident that we are confronted with two contradictory lines of inspiration in Bhāsa, for whereas in the Pry, he utilised the Pali tradition, in the Svd, he follows the Kashmirian BK recensions. But the evidence of the Svd should not count for much as it is counterbalanced by that of the earlier work which is apparently more reliable as it deals with the very theme of the Udayana-Vāsavadattā romance. It is clear that in the later drama, Bhāsa became influenced by the Kashmirian BK recensions whereas his views were different when he was composing the earlier work. This will become clearer as we shall see later on that the new version of the later play was needed for dramatic purposes. Dr. C. J. Ogden rightly concludes : "—It is evident that Bhāsa treats the incident in a more realistic and serious fashion than does the lighthearted account of the KSS, and herein he is probably more faithful to the original legend. A passage in the sixth act of the Svd is, however, in agreement with the KSS; hence it would seem that divergent recensions of the tale were current even in Bhāsa's time."[2]

Similarly, the evidence of the Vvd is not much reliable when an earlier drama viz, the Pry contradicts it. Moreover, the former has been seen even elsewhere, to distort the facts to serve its dramatic purposes.

*Enmity between Pradyota and Udayana*

Now as for the Kashmirian BK recensions, one important fact to be noted is that they also agree that there existed a permanent enmity between the kingdoms of Kauśāmbī and Avantī.[3] It is a fact which can be accepted without reserves

1. Vvd, Act I, pp. 6–11.
2. 'Bhāsa's treatment of the Udayana legend', ( 135th meeting, A. O. Society, Princeton. )
3. BKM, II Kthm L, g. 2, p. 46, Sls. 5–6; KSS, II Kthm L, T. 3, Sls. 8–12, 20–24.

as it is not refuted by any authority. Even Bhāsa[1] and the author of Vvd[2] admit it although they try to convince us along with the BK tradition that the motive behind Pradyota's capture of Udayana was not rivalry.

The BKM even preserves a slight trace of Pradyota's real attitude towards Udayana when it informs us that in his ferocious rapture at his foe's capture, Pradyota was ready to kill Udayana but was checked by the requests of his people which made him ashamed of his cruel bahaviour.[3]

We do not have to look far for the reason of Pradyota's enmity with Udayana which can obviously be traced back to Udayana's childhood when Pradyota was frustrated in his passion for Mṛgāvatī. It is quite probable that he was nurturing this grudge against the royal family of Kauśāmbī and political rivalry and jealousy augmented it.

In the face of the contradiction of all the other authorities, it becomes hard to put our credence in the version that Udayana was captured with a view to get him married to Vāsavadattā especially as we have often seen that the Kashmirian recensions are apt to idealise the facts even at the cost of authenticity; and it has been already shown how unreliable is the evidence of the Svd and the Vvd when it is contradicted by the Pry, an earlier work. Moreover, remembering the enmity that Pradyota was harbouring in his heart against his young rival, it seems more reasonable to rely on the Pali version of the legend that Pradyota had Udayana captured out of jealousy and enmity and that while at Ujjayinī, Udayana was treated strictly as a dangerous prisoner. That Pradyota did not kill him outright was most probably because he wanted to get from Udayana the secret of the power that the latter was reported to have over elephants. The idea of a matrimonial alliance between Udayana and Vāsavadattā was probably furtherest from his mind, not to say of his taking any pains for it. In fact, being aware of such a romantic possibility, he took all possible precautions to avert it. That unfortunately, events

1. Pry, Act II, p. 47, Sl. 3, p.59, Sl. 10, p. 61, Sl. 11.
2. Vvd, Act I, p. 7.
3. BKM, II, g. 2, p 49, Sl. 45.

took such a turn, cannot be laid at his door. Because of the permanent feud between the two royal families, Pradyota would never have considered Udayana for a son-in-law.

About Pradyota's reaction to the news of his daughter's elopement with his arch enemy, it is more probable that he tried to recapture his prisoner as held by the Pali and the Prakrit traditions. His attempts in this direction were again foiled by the cleverly planned conspiracy. According to the Kashmirian BK tradition, the romantic marriage was performed with the approval of Mahāsena in the presence of and with the assistance of Gopālaka.[1] Bhāsa, however, contradicts it for he maintains that Pradyota had the marriage rites performed with the portraits of the lovers.[2] But he, also, informs us that when Yaugandharāyaṇa was taken prisoner at Avantī, Pradyota conveyed to him his approval of the match between Vāsavadattā and Udayana.[3] But this seems rather improbable for in that case, it would have been unnecessary for Udayana to marry Padmāvatī, the princess of Magadha in order to get the alliance of Darśaka, in driving away Āruṇi from Kauśāmbī, as we shall see later on. Pradyota's ultimate attitude towards the elopement was, most probably, one of gracious forgiveness and tolerance but not immediately. At first, it would have been difficult for him to get reconciled to the idea of his daughter marrying his arch enemy Udayana. After all, Pradyota was not of a gentle temperament. He had 'Caṇḍa' for an appelation obviously because of his cruel and ferocious nature. His getting reconciled to the idea of a matrimonial alliance between his and Udayana's family, would have taken quite some time. But the Kashmirian BK tradition's and Bhāsa's assertion of the ultimate amity that settled down between the two rivals seems quite acceptable. Pradyota and Udayana, both ultimately thought of the advantages that would have accrued to them from the alliance and evidently decided on burying down the old family feud.

The Pali and the Prakrit traditions do not contradict this

1. KSS, II, T. 6, Sls. 1-10, 14, 20, 22-34, 58-61;
   BKM, II, g. 2, pp. 65-67, Sls. 247-252, 256-257, 268-269.
2. Pry, Act IV, p. 126; Svd, Act VI, p. 131.
3. Pry, Act IV, p. 126.

statement because they stop telling the story where Vāsavadattā is anointed queen of Kauśāmbī.

A passage in the BKŚS, a reliable testimony, helps us in fixing the time of Pradyota's approval of the elopement being known to Udayana. It alludes to the elopement when, 'while flying over Ujjayinī in a chariot which had been prepared to fulfil Vāsavadattā 'dohada', Udayana drops an epistle to Mahāsena, saying that Udayana the thief with his wives was bowing to him. At this, Mahāsena assures his son-in-law of his goodwill and asks him to get down.'[1] Obviously, Udayana means his carrying off Vāsavadattā surreptitiously by calling himself a thief. The noteworthy point, here, is that according to the BKŚS, until Vāsavadattā's pregnancy, Udayana was not sure of Pradyota's attitude towards his daughter's elopement. Thus, it suggests that goodwill between the two adversaries was exchanged only after the second marriage of Udayana with Padmāvatī. The Svd also supports this contention. This nullifies the Kashmirian tradition's and the Pry's information about Pradyota's immediate approval of the elopement. This also agrees with the new development of affairs at Kauśāmbī, as will be seen later on in connection with the Lāvāṇaka episode.

*(e) Yaugandharāyaṇa's role in the conspiracy*

There are also differences of opinion among the different authorities about the details of Udayana's plan of escape from the prisons of Avantī. The first controversy is about the role that Yaugandharāyaṇa played in the conspiracy. The Pali version of the legend does not mention Yaugandharāyaṇa at all whereas according to all the other authorities he was the moving spirit behind the whole scheme and they also agree that he was hiding about in Ujjayinī in the disguies of a mad man. Thus he was contriving to meet Udayana in the prison and keep him informed of the new developments. The part that he played in the rescue is given with astonishing similarity in the details by the Kashmirian BK version, the Bhāsa version and the Prakrit version. According to all these authorities, Udayana owed his release from the prison to his astute minister

1. BKSS, canto 5, p. 74, Sls. 288–296.

who uses a uniform stratagem : even to the name of the beast which is used as a conveyance for escape viz., Bhadravatī, Yaugandharāyaṇa's astuteness, foresight and great devotion which goes to the extent of taking mean disguises for the sake of his young master, are all there in all the three versions. Even the works which only allude briefly to the romance of Udayana support this version of Yaugandharāyaṇa's role in the conspiracy, e.g., during the interplay in the Prd. Vāsavadattā asks Kāñcanamālā as to why the music teacher is late for the lessons. She is informed that he was seen with a mad fellow, engaged in listening to his talk and replying to him while standing there laughing.[1]

This obviously refers to Yaugandharāyaṇa's being in Ujjayinī in the disguise of a mad man.

Udayana himself says later on that very soon he will carry away Vāsavadattā as everything has been well arranged by Yaugandharāyaṇa.[2]

It is, thus, clear that Śrīharṣa believed that the main credit for Udayana's successful escape from Pradyota's captivity should go to Yaugandharāyaṇa who planned the clever conspiracy.

The fact that the intoxication and getting loose from the tiepost of Nalagiri is alluded to in the Meghadūta[3] and the Prk,[4] suggests that their authors also believed in the Bhāsa version of Yaugandharāyaṇa's part in the conspiracy.

Still, there are quite same differences between the different authorities about the details of Yaugandharāyaṇa's role in the Udayana-Vāsavadattā romance.

In the first instance, the Pry mentions that Yaugandharāyaṇa's spy system was so very efficient that he had come to know of the ruse that Pradyota was going to play on Udayana, even before Udayana was captured. But Yaugandharāyaṇa could not warn his master against the stratagem in time as the latter was away from Kauśāmbī, near his frontiers.[5] The Vvd, modelled

1. Prd, Act III, p. 54.
2. Prd, Act III, p. 58.
3. Pūrvamegha, Sl. 33, p. 27.
4. Prk, 19 Vrdpr, p. 86.
5. Pry, Act I, p. 7, p. 13.

on the Pry as it is, naturally supports it.[1] But all the other authorities side together and deny it; they maintain that Yaugandharāyaṇa was ignorant of the plan.

Secondly, unlike others, the Kashmirian BK tradition does not mention the intoxication of Nalagiri and his getting loose to the consternation of Pradyota and his people. But, it is easily explicable. Yaugandharāyaṇa made Nalagiri go mad in order to get Udayana free of fetters so that his flight could be facilitated.[2] And as the BKM and the KSS maintain that Udayana was not being treated as a prisoner, it finds no necessity for mentioning this trick. In fact, had they mentioned it, it would have been difficult for them to explain the motive behind it which is wanting in their case. But as we have seen above, this incident is confirmed by the Meghadūta and the Prk. The KPP[3] distinctly says that Udayana was set free to curb Nalagiri although it is silent about Yaugandharāyaṇa's part in it.

The third controversy relates to the fact that Bhāsa does not make Yaugandharāyaṇa escape with his master as other authorities do, but leaves him behind in Ujjayinī where he is taken prisoner at first but is set free immediately as having really and morally triumphed over Pradyota. According to P. D. Gune "This change was required for dramatic purposes." It suited capitally with the boastful vow that Yaugandharāyaṇa makes at the earlier stages of the play. Gune favours the version that Yaugandharāyaṇa escaped with his master and offered fight in the Narbada forest ( where he had made previous arrangements against such an eventuality ). He says it is more natural if less dramatic.[4]

As a whole, in the Pry, the details of the conspiracy that Yaugandharāyaṇa planned are given in a much more detailed and trustworthy form than in the Kashmirian works. The latter mix mythology with reality to a hopeless extent, imputing Yogic powers to Yaugandharāyaṇa so that he could appear and dis-

1. Vvd, Act I, p. 36.
2. Pry, Act III, p. 90.
3. KPP, Pradyotakathā, p. 81.
4. A. Bh. I., Vol. 1920-21 ( July 1920 ), 'Pradyota, Udayana and Śreṇika, a Jain legend'; Pry, Act I, Sl. 16, Act III, Sl. 9, KPP, Pradyotakathā, P. 81.

appear at his will. Thus he could conspire with Udayana according to the Kashmirian tradition.[1] But this defeats the whole purpose of the conspiracy and Yaugandharāyaṇa's disguise and schemings. It is more probable that Yaugandharāyaṇa kept contact with Udayana through Vasantaka who was disguised as a clown. The trouble with the Kashmirian tradition is that it preserves the original roles of the conspirators but can not help introducing the supernatural element. Thus, there is no use left for the roles that everybody was playing. Bhāsa's version is comparatively more realistic and reliable. Besides it is also confirmed by the Prakrit version.

Now the Pali version makes Vāsavadattā play the role of the chief conspirator and Yaugandharāyaṇa is totally absent in it. It thus gives the sole credit of outwitting Pradyota at his own game of tricks to Udayana or rather to Vāsavadattā.[2] Therefore on the point of Yaugandharāyaṇa's actively helping Udayana in escaping from Pradyota's captivity, the Pali tradition sides against the Sanskrit and the Prakrit traditions.[3] It, however, seems rather improbable that such a devoted and capable minister as Yaugandharāyaṇa would sit passively when his master was suffering in the prison of a rival king. Yaugandharāyaṇa could not even foresee Vāsavadattā's coming to the rescue of his master and alligning herself with him. Moreover, Udayana would have needed some active helper outside the prison to help him plan his escape from bondage. Some of the servants of Pradyota and some prison guards would have to be bribed in order to bring about the escape. That the Pali tradition does not mention Yaugandharāyaṇa can be explained on the grounds that it gives the story of Vāsavadattā only incidentally while dealing with the Udenavatthu and concentrates on Sāmāvatī and Māgandiyā. As such Yaugandharāyaṇa did not find a place in this account. It does not seem reasonable to discredit the evidence of all the other authorities on the basis of the Pali tradition only. That Vāsavadattā actively helped in the conspiracy seems quite probable. After all, she was in the knowledge of things and her approval of the conspiracy

1. BKM, II, G. 2, p. 56, Sl. 133; KSS, II, T. 5, Sl. 2.
2. Dh PA, i-Udv, pp. 195-196.
3. KPP, Pradyotakathā, p. 81.

had been previously acquired. Keen that she must have been on the success of the plan, she must have done all that possibly could be done to bring it about.[1]

Here it is worth noticing that in the Tibetan version of the Udayana legend, Yaugandharāyaṇa plays a role similar to that of the Sanskrit and Prakrit legends. He comes to Ujjāyinī in the disguise of a mad man, having first found out that the king was alive through Kāñcanamālā who in this version was Yaugandharāyaṇa's sister and who got access to the Palace in the disguise of a beggar woman.[2]

*The Precautions taken by Udayana against recapture*

The last controversy centres round the precautions that Udayana took against his recapture. According to Bhāsa, Yaugandharāyaṇa relied on the speed of Bhadravatī which was being used as a conveyance. Moreover, Nalāgiri, the only conveyance comparable with Bhadravatī in speed had no such good guide as Vatsarāja,[3] an expert in the science of elephants.

The Kashmirian tradition makes Yaugandharāyaṇa rely on the fact that Nalagiri will never attack the she-slephant Bhadravatī.[4]

But these two authorities are not over concerned about Udayana's recapture as they believe in Pradyota's immediate approval of his daughter's[5] elopement with Udayana. Therefore, the success of the elopement is not so very important to them for any fight that could be expected to ensue between the escapees and the pursuers, would have been stopped by Pradyota's orders.

The Pali tradition maintains that Udayana carried away with him huge bags of coins to be emptied on the way to lure the followers; and in this way he reached in safety the encampment of his army which was waiting for him outside Kauśāmbī.[5]

The Prakrit version is that Yaugandharāyaṇa took away with him four jars full of the Urine of the she-elephant, Bha-

1. KSS, II, T. 5, Sl. 14–15.
2. Lacôte : 'Essai', pp. 243–244.
3. Pry : Act IV, p. 59, Sl. 10.
4. KSS, II, T. 5, Sl. 6–7, 29.
5. Dh PA, Udv, pp. 197–199.

dravatī and whenever Nalāgiri neared them, he broke one jar on the road. This delayed Nalāgiri as he lost some time in smelling it. This trick was repeated four times at a distance of twenty-five Yojanas each time and thus Udayana reached Kauśāmbī in safety.[1]

The Tibetan Kandjur sides with the Prakrit version and believes that Yaugandharāyaṇa took two jars of Bhadravatī's urine which he smashed on the road behind him. This delayed his followers who were pursuing him on the back of Nadāgiri.[2]

It is difficult to decide on either of these two versions. That one of these was resorted to delay the pursuers is quite probable. The Pry and Kashmirian testimonies are not so very reliable because they are obviously relying on Pradyota's immediate approval of the elopement to avert any fight that might ensue.

That Udayana reached Kauśāmbī in safety and married Vāsavadattā with due pomp and show is, however, agreed upon by all.

*The Lāvāṇaka episode*

Vāsavadattā's life is so full of romance that almost immediately after her romantic marriage, we find her involved in the most romantic situation that a writer's mind could ever conceive. But, for this incident in Vāsavadattā's life, our sole informant is the Sankrit version of the legend. The Prakrit tradition has recorded it in the Mṛgāvatī-caritra but this valuable work is unfortunately unavailable.

The Kashmirian BK recensions have treated in detail this theme. In the BKSS, there are some references which help us in making a guess at Budhasvāmin's views on this point.

Besides, many Sanskrit dramatists have based their plays on this romantic theme. Notable amongst these dramatists are Bhīmata, Bhāsa and Mātrarāja; of these we have only the Svd of Bhāsa and the Tvr of Mātrarāja. Bhīmata's Mvr survives only in an extract from it in the Nāṭyadarpaṇa.

*The Kashmirian BK account of the Lāvāṇaka episode*

It happened that the king of Vatsa, when he got married to Vāsavadattā, gradually came to devote more and more of

1. KPP, pp. 81–82.
2. Lacôte, Essai, p. 234.

his mind and time to wordly pleasures, while his Prime minister Yaugandharāyaṇa and Commander-in-chief Rumaṇvān had to bear the burden of the Government. This made Yaugandharāyaṇa point out to Rumaṇvān that as their master had handed over to them all the cares of the Government, it was obligatory on them to bring to him the sovereignty over the whole earth which belonged to him by right of heredity as he was a direct descendant of the Pāṇḍavas. In this respect, only Pradyota, the mighty king of Magadha could thwart them as he always put Udayana in the background. But fortunately, he had a daughter of marriageable age, Padmāvatī by name whose hand could be sought for Udayana. But for bringing about this marriage, it was necessary to remove Vāsavadattā out of the way as Pradyota would, otherwise never consent to the marriage. Yaugandharāyaṇa had previously sounded him about it but he had turned down the request saying, "To give my daughter, who is as dear to me as my life, to Vatsarāja ! No, he loves Vāsavadattā too much." Moreover, it was equally probable that their king himself, would not consent to another marriage so long as his beloved queen was alive. Therefore, it became incumbent upon the ministers to, publicly, announce the death of Vāsavadattā. Then only, everything could transpire in accordance with their plans. If they could get their king married to Padmāvatī, he would be related to the mighty king of Magadha who would then turn into their ally and would no longer oppose them. Then they would be on their way to conquer the East and onwards, and thus they could get the world subjugated to the king of Vatsa.

'Yaugandharāyaṇa proposed to set fire to the queen's mansion, having removed her to safety beforehand and announce that she had been burnt to death. But such an audacious plan made Rumaṇvān apprehensive. He was worried about the success of the plan because it was dangerous to separate the king from Vāsavadattā. But Yaugandharāyaṇa won him over to his side by insisting that it was the only plan open before them. He also assured Rumaṇvān that the latter had no reason to be afraid of Vāsavadattā's father, Mahāsena, the ferocious as he was confident that the queen and her father and brothers would fall in with his plan.

Rumaṇvān, suggested that Gopālaka, the queen's brother, should be taken into confidence and consulted about the plan. Next day, Yaugandharāyaṇa, through a messenger, had Gopālaka summoned from Avantī. On the very day of Gopālaka's arrival, Yaugandharāyaṇa took him and Rumaṇvān to his house in the night. There Yaugandharāyaṇa declared before the queen's brother, his daring plan and made known to the latter all the previous arguments that had possed between Rumaṇvān and himself. Gopālaka, who was a well-wisher of the king approved of it although it was only to result in anguish for his sister. Rumaṇvān again insisted that the king might even commit suicide if he came to believe in the queen's death. According to him, it was necessary to envisage this eventuality so that nothing of the earlier plan was overlooked. But Yaugandharāyaṇa, who had previously thought out all the details of his plan, said, "Do not be anxious on this point. The queen is Mahāsena's daughter and Gopālaka's sister, they both love her more than life. Our master will notice the composure of these two and will conclude that the queen is alive."

This question thus settled, the three conspirators planned to take the king along with queen to Lāvāṇaka, a frontier hamlet which touched Magadha. It abounded in game and would tempt the king to hunt. In his absence, fire was to be set to the women's apartments. If the things passed according to this plan, somebody was to take away the queen and find some ruse for placing her in Padmāvatī's mansions who was to act as witness and to attest the purity of Vāsavadattā's conduct and character during the time of her incognito living.

All these consultations were held during that night. The next day, the three conspirators went to the king and suggested to him to take a trip to Lāvāṇaka which was a veritable paradise for hunters. The king who was always out for amusements of any type, consented and ordered arrangements to be made for his journey to Lāvāṇaka with a big party which included queen Vāsavadattā.

The departure being fixed for the next day, the favourable hour was determined by the observation of stars. All of

a sudden, sage Nārada appeared in the court and after accepting the presents and hospitality of the king, gave to the king a garland of Pārijāta flowers. He also predicted for Vāsavadattā a son who was to be an incarnation of the God of love and who was to reign over the Vidyādharas. He then said to Udayana "Your ancestors followed my advice and became my friends. O king of Vatsa, listen to what I say to you. As your ancestors followed my advice, so you should follow that of your ministers. Before long, you will be blessed with a big gain. Meanwhile you will have to suffer for a short time. Do not lose heart then. It will end in happiness for you.'

'Having uttered these words, Nārada disappeared. And the ministers, assured of the success of their plan, became all the more enthusiastic about it.

'The aforementioned pretext enabled them to conduct their master along with queen Vāsavadattā to Lāvāṇaka. He arrived there with his troops and the place resounded with the noise which they made; the echoes seemed to proclaim the success of the plan of the ministers.

'The king of Magadha when he came to learn of the arrival of the king of Vatsa with all his retinue, became uneasy in his mind. A clever diplomat himself, he sent a massenger to Yaugandharāyaṇa to get in touch with him. Yaugandnarāyaṇa a politician of no lesser merit welcomed the messenger in a flattering manner ( This is found only in the KSS ). Meanwhile, the king of Vatsa, who had taken his quarters at Lāvāṇaka, scoured the forest further and further for chase every day. Then, one day, when his master has gone away for hunting, having settled all that he was to do with Gopālaka's assistance, Yaugandharāyaṇa presented himself to queen Vāsavadattā, along with Rumaṇvān and Vasantaka. She was fortunately alone. He begged her to aid them in all that was necessry in the interest of the king by importunating her with arguments. Her brother had already informed her of the minister's plan and with bowed head she gave her consent. The imminent separation from her husband was bound to cause her grief but as a devoted wife born in a good family, she was willing to undergo it for her husband's sake. Yaugandharāyaṇa, procuring a charm which

could change forms, changed her into the form of a Brahmin woman; he transformed Vasantaka in an *averaged* brahmin pupil and himself by an identical procedure, got changed into an old brahmin. Then taking the transformed queen and Vasantaka with him, he hurriedly set off in the direction of Magadha. The thoughts of Vāsavadattā were with her husband though bodily she was proceeding towards Magadha. Meanwhile, at Lāvāṇaka, Rumaṇvān set fire on the pavilion of the queen and started crying, "Alas, alas, the queen and Vasantaka are perishing in the fire." The cries and the flames increased together, simultaneously. Gradually the fire subsided but the lamentations only went on bursting forth anew.

Meanwhile, Yaugandharāyaṇa accompanied by Vāsavadattā and Vasantaka reached the capital of Magadha. He met Padmāvatī in a park (This is the KSS version. The BKM says that he went to the apartments of Padmāvatī in the inner Palace). He told her that the lady with him was his daughter Āvantikā and the one-eyed student was his son Priyaṁvada. As he wanted to fetch back his son-in-law who had wandered off to far off lands long ago, he would request to keep in her care his daughter and son. Padamāvatī granted his request and gradually became much attached to Vāsavadattā disguised as Āvantikā to whom she had taken an instantaneous liking. Her mother guessed when she met Āvantikā (when she saw the celestial garland and Tilaka which Vāsavadattā made for Padmāvatī, acc. to the KSS) that she was some great lady in hiding and advised Padmāvatī, to treat her very nicely. This made Padmāvatī very considerate towards her ward.

'Yaugadharāyaṇa had returned to Lāvāṇaka in great haste. The king of Vatsa had wandered far away in the course of his hunting. It was quite late in the evening when he reentered Lāvāṇaka on the fateful day. Scarcely had he seen the women's apartment reduced to ashes, when he was informed by the ministers that the queen and Vasantaka had perished in the flames. At this news, he fell prostrate on the ground in a senseless state. This swoon seemed to spare him the tortures of his grief. But after an instant only, he regained his senses and in a fire of pain arose in his heart. In the overwhelming grief of

his affliction, he thought only of suicide. But the words of Nārada came back to him. He also noted that the grief of Gopālaka was much too feeble to be genuine. Yaugandharāyaṇa and his ministers also could not convince him of their consternation. This made him conclude that the queen might be alive and the whole episode was probably the outcome of some plot arranged by the ministers. He became confident that he would be reunited with his wife in the long run and decided that it was better to see the new development to the end. Gopālaka gave instructions to a secret agent and he went to the countryside to be able to confirm discreetly the official version of the events. The spies of the king of Magadha, who were staying at Lāvāṇaka all the time, went to their king and reported the new developments to him. ( An addition on the part of the KSS). The king of Magadha then sent a proposal for the marriage of his daughter Padmāvatī with the king of Vatsa whose ministers had already asked for her hand for their master in the beginning. At the instigation of his ministers, Udayana gave his consent to the marriage for he suspected that there lay the reason for Vāsavadattā's separation and this was the only way left to him to get her back.

'Then having fixed the auspicious day for the marriage, Yaugandharāyaṇa sent this message to the king of Magadha : "On the seventh day from today, the king of Vatsa will come to Rājagṛha to marry Padmāvatī so that he can forget Vāsavadattā soon". This news, when it got to Vāsavadattā, saddened her considerably. Vasantaka tried his best to console her, and she ultimately got reconciled to the idea and made the celestial garland and tilaka for Padmāvatī.

'In due time, Udayana's marriage with Padmāvatī was celebrated amidst great festivities. During the marriage rites, Yaugandharāyaṇa extracted a promise from Pradyota that he would not impede Udayana's conquest of the Eastern direction. Udayana also became convinced of Vāsavadattā's existence, on noticing the celestial garland and tilaka which only Vāsavadattā could make on Padmāvatī's person. After the marriage, the Vatsa party returned to Lāvāṇaka. Vāsavadattā also accompaniad it there and went to Gopālaka's house where she wept on meeting her brother. Yaugandharāyaṇa and Rumaṇvān

also came there and paid her their tributes. Meanwhile, Udayana had found out from Padmāvatī that her companion Āvantikā had made the garland and tilaka for her and that she was in Gopālaka's apartments. He hurried there and fainted at the sight of his lost beloved. Brought back to his senses, he began to weep with Vāsavadattā. This drew Padmāvatī also there who then came to know the whole plot. Then, a lot of weeping and explanations and self-criticism on everyone's part ensued but ultimately, everything ended happily to everyone's satisfaction.

'When the king of Magadha came to know of the deception played upon him, he sent a messenger to Udayana, blaming his ministers for deceiving him. But Padmāvatī sent a reassuring reply to her father who got reconciled to the whole idea when he came to know that both Udayana and Vāsavadattā were according due respect and consideration to his daughter.

'After all confusion was over, arrangements were made for all of them to return to the capital, Kauśāmbī.'[1]

*The Svapna-Vāsavadattam account*

Bhāsa's version of the second marriage of Vatsarāja Udayana with princess Padmāvatī of Magadha is found in the Savpnavāsavadattam, a play dealing with this very theme :

'Yaugandharāyaṇa, the loyal prime minister of king Udayana of Vatsa is anxious to recover for his master all the territories sntached away from him by his enemy, Āruṇi, the king of Pāñcāla. For this political purpose, the alliance of Darśaka the then powerful king of Magadha is very necessary. The astute minister, therefore, wants to get his master married to Padmāvatī, the sister of the king of Magadha. But Udayana is deeply attached to queen Vāsavadattā and, therefore, would never consent to a second marriage, princess or no princess. The shrewd minister then plans a scheme and seeks the cooperation of queen Vāsavadattā in recovering the lost kingdom. She consents, for her husband's sake. The royal camp is taken to Lāvāṇaka, a village near the borders of Kauśāmbī and Magadha and one day when the king is out a-hunting, the ingenious

1. BKM, III, pp. 60–82.
KSS, III, T. Sl-3, pp. 48-60.

minister sets fire to the village and dupes everybody in believing that the queen has died in the village conflagration and that the Prime Minister too, while trying to rescue her, was burnt in the fire. Meanwhile, he surreptitiously leaves for Magadha accompanied by the queen, who is kept with Padmāvatī under the guise of his sister.[1]

'The king Udayana is aggrieved by the loss of his beloved, but is eventually persuaded to marry a second time. Padmāvatī, on a proposal by Darśaka, is betrothed to Udayana.[2]

'Though displeased at the idea of her Lord's second marriage, Vāsavadattā is asked to prepare a nuptial garland for the bride which she does, insisting, however, on not weaving in a herb, supposed to bring about the crushing of a cowife. At the same time, she weaves in it a herb which is said to ward off widowhood.[3]

'Padmāvatī and Vāsavadattā, along with a maid servant are in the harem garden when Udayana and his jester friend Vasantaka happen to come there and talk about his respective loves for his two wives,—Vāsavadattā supposed to be dead and Padmāvatī, the newly wed bride. Udayana confesses that inspite of her many good qualities, the latter has not been able to make him forget Vāsavadattā. This conversation is overheard by the two queens.[4]

'Padmāvatī is reported to be suffering from a severe headache. Udayana is much concerned at this but when he goes to call on her, he does not find her at the appointed place in the oceanpavilion. He lies down there and while Vasantaka is telling him a story to amuse him, he falls asleep. Vasantaka goes away to fetch a blanket for him. In the meanwhile, Vāsavadattā comes there and mistaking the king for Padmāvatī lies down on the unoccupied part of the bed. Immediately she feels a peculiar thrill of pleasure. The king, dreaming of Vāsavadattā calls out her name which makes her realise the real situation. She gets up hurriedly to go away but is tempted to linger and gaze upon him. She also answers his dreaming

1. Svd, Act I, pp. 8–37.
2. Svd, Act II.
3. Svd, Act III, pp. 51–58.
4. Svd, Act IV, pp. 59–60.

queries and after having placed his hanging arm in a proper position, goes away. Her touching him awakens Udayana who runs after her to catch hold of her although he is not fully awake. However, he is obstructed by the door. At this juncture, the jester returns and is informed by the king that Vāsavadattā is still alive. Vasantaka tries to explain away what he thinks is only an illusion on the king's part and is able to convince the latter also of it. A chamberlain of Darśaka now enters and informs Udayana on behalf of his master that Rumaṇvān is on the way to attack Āruṇi with his forces allied to those of Darśaka. Udayana at once prepares himself to take part in the fight.[1]

The prelude to the sixth act shows that lots of developments have taken place in the interval. Udayana is reinstalled on the throne of Vatsa but at present, his grief for Vāsavadattā is renewed on refinding Ghoṣavatī, her favourite lute.[2] Meanwhile, Pradyota's chamberlain, accompanied by Vāsavadattā's nurse, comes to congratulate Udayana on his victory. They assure him of his first father-in-law's goodwill and the nurse presents to him, his and Vāsavadattā's portraits with which the marriage rites were performed at Avantī. Padmāvatī is struck by a great resemblance between the portrait of Vāsavadattā and the socalled sister of Yaugandharāyaṇa who has been her companion. Udayana, at first, is curious about it but when he is told that she is the sister of a Brahmin, his suspicions are allayed. Just then Yaugandharāyaṇa arrives, still in disguise and demands the return of his sister. Vāsavadattā, disguised as Āvantikā is brought forth and is recognised by her nurse. Yaugandharāyaṇa, at first, tries to keep up the deception but ultimately discloses his identity and the whole plan is made known to the happiness of all. The messengers from Avantī are hurriedly sent back to convey the glad tidings to Vāsavadattā's parents.[3]

*The Tāpasavatsarājacarita account*

According to the Tvr, another play based on the theme of Udayana's second marriage, 'Udayana was too much preoccu-

1. Svd, Act V, pp. 91–116.
2. Svd, Prelude to Act VI, pp. 117–120.
3. Svd, Act VI, pp. 120–146.

pied by Vāsavadattā to look after his kingdom. The king of Pāñcāla took advantage of Udayana's negligence and annexed most of his territories. The ministers, Yaugandharāyaṇa and Rumaṇvān conferred together on this deplorable state of affairs but all their attempts to recover their kingdom from the hands of Pāñcāla, proved futile owing to Udayana's reckless neglect of his political affairs. Yaugandharāyaṇa resolved to present a united front to the conqueror to which Vāsavadattā's father Pradyota and his sons agreed. Yet their combined efforts seemed to be too feeble and the assistance of one more powerful sovereign became absolutely necessary. Now, Darśaka, the king of Magadha, had a sister of marriageable age and no suitable match still came forward. He had a powerful army whose assistance would prove a veritable boon to Udayana. Yaugandharāyaṇa made bold to acquire the maiden for his master and to win over to his side a powerful neighbour and ally who also would be pleased at the offer. But Vāsavadattā stood in the way. However, Yaugandharāyaṇa, whom she respected very much prevailed upon her and a plan was devised, so that Udayana was told that Vāsavadattā was burnt along with Yaugandharāyaṇa in a fire. At this he became almost mad and ran to jump in the fire to perish in the very flames that had devoured his beloved. Finally, on the advice of Rumaṇvān, he became an ascetic, however, and went on a pilgrimage to various holy places. Meanwhile, Darśaka came to hear of Vāsavadattā's (fake) death. It removed the only barrier to his offering his sister Padmāvatī to Udayana. The astute minister, Yaugandharāyaṇa sent a portrait of Udayana to Padmāvatī through a nun. She got enamoured of Udayana and herself becoming a nun, retired to a hermitage. Yaugandharāyaṇa brought Vāsavadattā to the same hermitage and requested Padmāvatī to give shelter to his sister. Padmāvatī took an immediate liking to Vāsavadattā and treated her very soon as a great friend. Udayana and his jester friend, visiting several sacrad places in the course of their pilgrimage as ascetics, reached the banks of Yamunā where this hermitage was situated. Udayana heard of Padmāvatī's devotion to him and met her. He accepted Padmāvatī in marriage.

Meanwhile his ministers had formed an alliance with Darśaka and Mahāsena and their combined forces had attacked Pāñcāla

who was in possession of Kauśāmbī, had vanquished him and had taken him a captive. But he was mad after Vāsavadattā, and thought that it would be sheer ingratitude if he survived his beloved. He must commit himself to the flames. The confluence of the Gaṅgā and Yamunā at Prayāga was believed to be a sacred spot where the death of a person brought him in the next birth to the realisation of his intense desires. Udayana resolved to die there. Meanwhile, Vāsavadattā impatient of the weary paths of Yaugandharāyaṇa, went to the same spot to commit the same forlorn crime inspite of his mild admonition. The mad king was seen by them being followed by Padmāvatī. Yaugandharāyaṇa recognised him and repented for his policy which tormented the king so cruelly. It was dark, and when he was preparing to enter the fire his attention was drawn to the horrid spectacle of a woman flinging herself into the flames. The king's inborn chivalry was aroused and he ran to save her, to find out, to his rapture, that she was none other than his beloved Vāsavadattā. Yaugandharāyaṇa now presented himself to the king and made the whole plan known to him. To increase the king's happiness, Rumaṇvān brought the happy tidings of the defeat of Pāñcāla. Udayana, Vāsavadattā and Padmāvatī all joined together to rejoice at it.'

*Allusions to the Lāvāṇaka episode on the BKŚS*

Although, the BKŚS does not give an account of Udayana's second marriage with Padmāvatī, there are enough hints in it to make one feel that Budhasvāmin believed in this legend. He repeatedly refers to Udayana's two wives Vāsavadattā and Padmāvatī.[1] Padmāvatī is often referred to by the appelation of 'Māgadhī'.[2] Once Vāsavadattā herself alludes to the hardships she had to undergo in the earlier part of her life. When she is going to the Grove of serpents to practise hard austerities with the king in order to get a son, she dissuades her cowife Padmāvatī from accompanying her, saying, "Spare yourself this fatigue, my dear. See, you are young, tender as the fibre of a stalk of lotus. You have been accustomed to the comfort of the mansion of your brother and that of your husband.

1. BKŚS, Canto IV, pp. 35–36.
2. BKŚS, Canto V, p. 63.

I on the contrary, unlucky that I am, have known great sufferings and hence I am capable of enduring pain."[1]

In another pasage there is a clear suggestion that on the question of the identity of Padmāvatī, Budhasvāmin believed with Bhāsa and Mātrarāja that she was the sister of Darśaka, the then king of Magadha and Vāsavadattā was king Pradyota's daughter and the princess of Avantī.[2]

*The Manoramā-vatsarāja evidence*

A quotation in the Nāṭya-Darpaṇa from the Mvr, an extinct play, refers to the burning of the women's apartments at Lāvāṇaka by the conspiracy of Vatsarāja's ministers Rumaṇvān and Yaugandharāyaṇa. It also informs us that Vāsavadattā was alive after the fire episode and was in the company of Yaugandharāyaṇa.[3]

*Critical Appreciation of these accounts, agreements :*

Looking critically at all these different accounts of the Lāvāṇaka episode, we find all of them agree that after getting married to princess Vāsavadattā of Avantī in a most romantic fashion; Udayana, the king of Vatsa, began to devote all his time to her and hunting. He was so excessively attached to his beloved wife that he negleted altogether his duties as the head of an important state. The responsibilities of his kingdom and his subjects, he reposed on the shoulder of his able ministers. They, however, could realise that it was injurious to his political interests in view of which it was necessary to get him married to princess Padmāvatī of Magadha. But they were also well aware of the fact that the king of Magadha would never consent to this matrimonial alliance for it was well known that Udayana was deeply attached to his wife Vāsavadattā. Moreover, Udayana would never agree to this idea of a second marriage so long as Vāsavadattā was alive. Finding it incumbent upon them, to bring about the matrimonial alliance of Udayana and Padmāvatī, the ministers sought and procured queen Vāsavadattā's cooperation in the name of her husband's interests. They devised what is now known as the

1. BKŚS : Canto V, p. 48, Sls. 11–14.
2. BKŚS : Canto V, p. 74, Sls. 288–296.
3. Ndp, p. 144.

Lāvāṇaka episode so that after his marriage with Padmāvatī Udayana had a strong and staunch ally in the king of Magadha. Thus the objects of his ministers were achieved and their political interests were served to the satisfaction of all.

*Differences*

But apart from the main facts, we find many important differences in the details of the different versions of the episode. (a) First of all the Kashmirian tradition makes Padmāvatī the daughter of king Pradyota of Magadha whereas both Bhāsa and Mātrarāja maintain that she was the sister of king Darśaka of Magadha; Pradyota being the name of the king of Avantī whose daughter was Vāsavadattā, Udayana's first wife. But regarding the relationship of Padmāvatī with the reigning king of Magadha, it is reasonable to suppose that the Kashmirian tradition has somehow got confused between the names of the two royal contemporaries of Udayana, for here the dramatists are supported by the Nepalese recension of the Bṛhatkathā.[1] Moreover, as has been discussed before,[2] all the other relevent testimony specifically gives to Vāsavadattā's father and the king of Avantī, the name of Pradyota. It being rather improbable that two eminent royal personalities of Udayana's times, viz. the kings of Magadha and Avantī were known by the same name, one is inclined to favour the dramatists version of Padmāvatī's identity, as has been concluded before.[3]

(b) The second and very important difference among these authorities is that they ascribe different motives to the ministers for planning and executing the whole conspiracy and to Vāsavadattā for abetting them in it. On this controversial issue again, the dramas oppose the Kashmirian tradition which maintains that Vāsavadattā's fake death was staged to get Udayana married to Padmāvatī for the political ambition of adding new territorties to his state, to make him the sovereign of the entire earth and to accomplish his 'Digvijaya' in the tradition of his noble ancestors.[4] Moreover, diviners had prophesied that Padmāvatī would be the wife of a Cakravartī

1. BKŚS, Canto V, p. 74, Sls. 288-296.
2. BKŚS, Canto V, p. 74, Sl. 5.
3. Chap. 1, Age and Genealogy, pp. 40-48.
4. KSS, III, T. 1, p. 48.

emperor, the BKM adds.[1] By Udayana's entering into an alliance with the king of Magadha through matrimony, the conquest in the eastern direction would not be obstructed by the latter. But the two dramas stand together in maintaining that the marriage with Padmāvatī was desperately needed in order to secure the help of the mighty king of Magadha in regaining the lost territories of Udayana. There are enough allusions in both the plays to clearify their views on this point e. g., in the first act of Svd are found many allusions to the past events and the incentive of the heroine in being separated from her husband and posing as dead. When Padmāvatī had accepted to keep in her care the disguised Vāsavadattā, Yaugandharāyaṇa exclaims aside that half of his task is done and that the affair is ripening according to the plan agreed upon by the ministers which is to take back the queen to the king when he is reinstalled upon the throne. As Padmāvatī is predicted to marry the king, she will attest the queen's blotless character.[2]

The adversity that befell Udayana and to redress which the whole conspiracy was planned is also repeatedly referred to.[3]

That the kingdom of Vatsa had been snatched away by Āruṇi, is clearly suggested by a conversation between Udayana and the chamberlain of Darśaka at the close of the fifth act when the former is told that Darśaka's forces have come to his aid to help him recover his lost kingdom.[4]

In the sixth act, Udayana's chamberlain refers to him as one whose prosperity has enhanced through his recovery of the kingdom of Vatsa.[5] Later on, the chamberlain of Pradyota congratulates Udayana on his master's behalf : 'Luckily you have recovered the kingdom, wrested away by your enemies'.[6]

Still further, Yougandharāyaṇa explains his motive for hiding away the queen, "( I concealed the queen ) so that I might rule over the whole of Kauśāmbī."[7]

1. BKM, III, pp. 68–69, Sls. 2-97.
2. Svd, Act I, Sl. 11.
3. Svd, Act I, Sl. 4; Prelude to Act IV.
4. Svd, Act V, Sls. 12, 13.
5. Svd, Act VI.
6. Svd, Act VI.
7. Svd, Act VI.

The Tvr agrees with the Svd and informs us that Āruṇi, the troublesome enemy of Udayana was the king of Pāñcāla country. We find Udayana's chamberlain lamenting over Udayana's blindness in not noticing that Pāñcāla is subjugating him while he is busy in the indulgence of his pleasures.[1]

As in the Svd, so in the Tvr, Yaugandharāyaṇa explains his motive in planning the whole conspiracy at the close of the play, "All, my *guilty* actions were taken up to uproot Pāñcāla, here lady Vāsavadattā appeases the lord."[2]

It is clarified that Āruṇi was the name of the king of Pāñcāla, later on when Udayana asks, 'if the wretch of Pāñcāla had been captured' and Rumaṇvān replies in the affirmative, assuring his master that not very far from the place where they were standing, Āruṇi was standing, bound and fettered.[3]

These ample allusions in the two plays, help us in reconstructing the background of the second marriage of Udayana.

The presence of the dethroned Udayana at Lāvāṇaka, signifies apparently that that sole corner of his former kingdom remained in his possession. On understanding this point, one is not astonished that Udayana's ministers and his forces accompanied him to Lāvāṇaka. The Kashmirian version, completely altered though it is, preserves some traces of the original tradition. It says that the king of Magadha apprehended an agression when Udayana's arrival at Lāvāṇaka came to his notice.[4] It is not possible to mistake a hunting expedition for an army of invasion. The presence of the troops at Lāvāṇaka, can be easily understood if Lāvāṇaka had become the humble capital of the debris of the once so powerful kingdom. The position of Udayana is, obviously, not safe even here.

Now, the design of the ministers becomes understandable as well as the incentive which stirred up the devoted sacrifice on Vāsavadattā's part. The danger was pressing. It was anticipated that Udayana would seek refuge in the territory of his neighbour Darśaka, the king of Magadha and solicit his support. This procedure is very natural: the ambition which made

1. Tvr, Prelude to Act I, pp. 2–3.
2. Ibid; Act VI, p. 72.
3. Ibid; Act VI, P. 74.
4. KSS, III, T. 2, Sls. 1–4, BKM. III, Sl. 69.

Āruṇi enlarge his proper kingdom at the expense of that of Vatsa, constituted an equal danger to the kingdom of Magadha. The ministers were reminded in this connection that the same astrologers who had predicted the defeat of the king, had also predicted his marriage with princess Padmāvatī; it was anticipated that the political alliance would be established through the nuptial alliance and most probable the former depended upon the latter. It was necessary to make haste,—Padmāvatī could be promised any minute. She had, in fact, been already asked for by Pradyota of Avantī for his son.[1] But even if Udayana, under pressure of the circumstances, came to solicit assistance from Darśaka, nothing would have made him decide to request the hand of Padmāvatī. Vāsavadattā was for him not only an adored mistress to whom he could not think of giving a rival but also a second marriage would have put himself, Vāsavadattā and the new wife in a position so false and embarrassing that Darśaka would never give his consent to the proposed marriage. In fact, Vāsavadattā, next to Udayana, held the rank of the queen in title but she was not so in quality. Her glory was to last only till Udayana did not marry another wife. Her parents had not so far informed her that they approved of her marriage.[2] This Gāndharva marriage had not been followed by the regular marriage ceremony in all probability. This situation, although, regularised by the laws of Manu, did not virtually give to Vāsavadattā the rank which would belong to a second wife who had been married according to conventional rites. The latter, if she ever came to exist, would supercede Vāsavadattā. This humiliation Udayana would never allow her to suffer. Moreover, Darśaka would never consent to expose his sister to the miseries caused by the existence of a cowife who was much beloved. It was presumed that Darśaka would, therefore, turn down Udayana's solicitations of help.

Thus while Vāsavadattā lived, the problem was insoluble. This difficulty motivated the conspiracy. The sacrifice of Vāsavadattā is absolute. The prophecy of the diviners and the assurance of Yaugandharāyaṇa were her sole guarantee. She could not but foresee that her disappearance from Udayana's vision would save his kingship but bring about her ultimate

1. Svd, Act I, p. 17.
2. Svd, Act VI, p. 131; BKŚS, Canto V, p. 74, Sls. 288-296.

destiny, she could not but be uncertain. It was necessary that the usurper be driven out before she reappeared for revelation of the deception before the victory may antagonise Darśaka.[1] Finally she ran the risk of losing the devotion of Udayana.

Bhāsa saves us the difficulty of beliveing in a vain sacrifice for unnecessary reasons. It is not for glory that his Vāsavadattā submits to the cruel separation. A really tragic problem is before her, she has to choose between her security in the affections of Udayana on one hand and on the other, the honour and possibly the safety of her husband as well as his state and sovereignty.

The faithful character of Udayana is not in the least injured. He has lost Vāsavadattā hopelessly, he believes; here he has not the least grounds to count on her being restored to him as in the Kashmirian version.[2] It was left to him to discharge ably his duties as the head of a state in danger. It is for saving his kingdom that he went to Rājagṛha without the least intention of requesting Padmāvatī's hand in marriage. The political alliance with Darśaka was his sole object, the marriage came in addition and without his desiring or working for it in the least. The dexterity of his ministers had anticipated that the power of his irresistible charms would act on Padmāvatī as his merits would on Darśaka and the disappearance of Vāsavadattā through a fake death, though it would not induce him to seek a second wife, would remove on his part any pretext for refusing it if it was offered as an implicit condition for the desperately needed alliance. This point is clarified in the Svd when Vāsavadattā, very anxious to know if her husband has played the role of the wooer, is assured by Padmāvatī's nurse, "Not at all. Another reason had brought him here. The king, noticing his nobility, knowledge, youth and beauty has given her to him spontaneously." This satisfies Vāsavadattā that her husband has not been deliberately unfaithful.[3]

1. The KSS preserves a detail which tells us that it was only after reentering his states that Udayana recovered Vāsavadattā. KSS, III T. 2.
2. Ibid.; Appendix 86, BKM, III, Sls. 89–91.
3. Svd, Act II.

Having witnessed the grief of Udayana throughout the separation, one has got to admit that he was also sacrificed by his ministers on the altar of the interests of the state.

Let us come to the fifth and the sixth acts. The details which we have got about the progress of the combined armies of Darśaka and Udayana, after the first victory which presaged a complete victory, the deliverance of the kingdom of Vatsa and its coming back into the hands of its lawful owner and the diplomatic roles of the ministers are not cumbersome digressions. It excites us to thinking and is not harmful to the denouement. It is the denouement itself till the recognition ot Vāsavadattā is permitted by her restoration to the demanding Yaugandharāyaṇa who reappears on the scene as the loving brother. As the latter had promised to her, the victory of Udayana brings back Vāsavadattā to honour. Throughout the episode, one is conscious of a superior logic in Bhāsa's version. No detail is superfluous but nothing necessary is wanting. The messengers of Pradyota do not only provoke the recognition of Vāsavadattā through the portrait that they fortunatelly brought, they also make it known that the regular marriage rites of Udayana and Vāsavadattā had been performed in Ujjayinī by her parents. The last trace of uneasiness which could rest in her mind is thus wiped away.

In the Tāpasavatsarāja also, the points of departure and arrival are identical. Kauśāmbī has been taken over by Āruṇi while Udayana is encamping. The kingdom of Udayana is reduced to a little part of his original kingdom. Yaugandharāyaṇa, for securing the alliance of Darśaka, wants his master to marry Padmāvatī but Vāsavadattā is an obstacle. Hence the deception, the purpose of which is served when Udayana marries Padmāvatī. The ministers helped by Darśaka and Pradyota, chase away Āruṇi. The denouement reunites Vāsavadattā to her husband at the very moment when Rumaṇvān comes to announce the final triumph.

Now of the two versions of the legend which assign different motives to the ministers for conspiracy and to Vāsavadattā for cooperating with them, we have to decide on the more probable one in the absence of any conclusive testimony. The version of the Kashimirian tradition, does seem rather far-

fetched, for if there was no imminent danger to Udayana's own empire, it looks like going to the extremes for merely gaining new territories. As for the 'Digvijaya' we shall see later on, if it ever did take place, it was just a nominal one. As we have seen before, the Kashmirian BK recensions and the Tvr unanimously advance an opinion that his marriage with Vāsavadattā had a demoralising effect on Udayana who thenceonwards stopped paying any attention to his duties as a king towards his state and his people.[1] In those days of political upheavals which were the outcome of ambitious competition for political supremacy among the numerous heads of states, this must have considerably weakened the stability of Kauśāmbī. With such an irresponsible and unheeding king, it must have been very hard on the ministers to preserve the territories. Naturally this must have made Kauśāmbī an easy prey for enterprising and ambitious rival kings. Therefore, it seems most probable that the king of Pāñcāla snatched away from Udayana's lax hands, the major portion of Vatsa territories. Moreover, here again the Nepalese recension of the Bṛhatkathā comes to the support of the version of two dramas. In it we find an allusion to the seizure of Keuśāmbī by Āruṇi. 'The young son of Udayana, Naravāhanadatta is consulting his friends on the oppertunity of following the court and the crowd which is going to the Yātrā at Nāgavana on the other side of the Yamunā. Hariśikha, his friend dissusades him from it, saying, "This exit does not seem desirable to me because the citadels when they are vacant, are snatched away by the neighbouring kings. You have heard already of the doings of Āruṇi when he had learnt that the king (Udayana) was absent and the town was empty."'[2]

The Lāvāṇaka episode and Vāsavadattā's survival from it is also testified by the Mvr. Here also, we find a suggestion that its theme was the same as the Svd and the Tvr and that

1. KSS, III, T. 1, Sls. 3–8;
   BKM, III, Sls. 2–4, p. 68;
   Tvr, Prelude to Act I and Act I, pp. 2–6.
2. BKŚS, Canto VII, p. 91, Sl. 67–68.

it would also have us believe that the death of Vāsavadattā at Lāvāṇaka was stagad for the routing of the Pāñcāla king.[1]

Because of all these arguments, one is inclined to favour the dramatists' version of the motive which inspired the whole conspiracy of the Lāvāṇaka episode. The pretext of the conquest is most probably a poor invention of the Kashmirian canpilatore for explaining a denouement in the version canserved in their works and is not a plausible motive. One is confirmed in this belief by the reference in the BKŚS. Moreover as Lacôte concludes, "It does not suffice for making the conduct of Vāsavadattā probable."[2]

(c) The Kashmirian tradition again differs from the dramatists' version of the episode about a minor detail. It maintains that Vasantaka the jester kept Vāsavadattā company during her stay at Rājagṛha in Padmāvatī's apartments.[3] In the plays, Vasantaka never leaves the side of his master, the king of Vatsa and latter on, accompanies him to Rājagṛha from Lāvāṇaka. But there is a detail which again makes us suspect the Kashmirian version. According to it, Yaugandharāyaṇa left Lāvāṇaka in the guise of an old Brahmin escorting a woman and a deformed lad, common people who are not supposed to be travelling in carriages. And inspite of the usual supernatural element, in the KSS, we are no-where told that they had seven league boots. Now, we are supposed to accept that setting out in the morning and walking on foot, they arrived at Rājagṛha on the same day and moreover so quickly that Yaugandharāyaṇa could be back at Lāvāṇaka before the night so that no suspicion could arise in the king's mind.[4] Now, we know well that in the valley of the Ganges, the kindom of Vatsa is separated from that of Magadha by the kingdom of Kāśī. It is only at the southeast that it bordered on Magadha. Without pretending to cite with precision the position of Lāvāṇaka, it is undeniable that even from the nearest point to Rājagṛha, there are at least forty leagues.[5] One can say that this does not look

1. Ndp, p. 144.
2. Lacôte : 'S. V. B.', J. A. ( 1919 ).
3. BKM, III, p. 74; KSS. III, T. 2, pp. 52-53.
4. BKM, III, p. 74; KSS, III, T. 2, p. 52. Sls. 12-24.
5. Lacôte : 'S. V. B.', J. A. ( 1919 ).

like a chicanery in the author of a story. Lacôte's opinion is different. He maintains that "the Indian stories liberally include a marvellous extravagance of enchantments, metamorphosis, the powers of magic but for the rest when it rests on the human plane, they are very respectful about the likelihood. Now here we have plainly an improbability. So obviously this story cannot conform to that of the original. In the BK, either it was clearly indicated that the travellers were transported by means of magic or the journey lasted longer and Yaugandharāyaṇa did not find himself at Lāvāṇaka on the evening of the catastrophe for receiving Udayana.

In Bhāsa's version, the journey lasts longer. Vāsavadattā is tired out. Moreover, the weary travellers have not reached the capital of Magadha. They, fortunately, meet Padmāvātī at a hermitage in a corner of Magadha, much nearer to the frontier. Naturally, the travellers are ignorant of what happened at Lāvāṇaka after their departure. Yaugandharāyaṇa, after leaving Vāsavadattā with Padmāvatī according to the plan agreed upon by the ministers, goes back but does not join Udayana who believes him to be dead until he is reunited to Vāsavadattā.

It is easy to see that these details confrom more to the probability. Moreover, it is natural to suppose that Vasantaka, Udayana's bosom friend, remained with him to assuage his grief in the difficult period after Vāsavadattā's supposed passing away. Most probably, he accompanied Udayana on his hunt so that he himself was duped when he same back to the fateful site.

(d) Another point of difference among these versions is that whereas Bhāsa would have us believe that Vāsavadattā's people were kept as much in ignorance of the whole conspiracy planned by the ministers as Udayana himself; the Kashmirian tradition asserts that Gopālaka, the elder brother of Vāsavadattā was called over to Kauśāmbī by the ministers and his approval to the whole plan was secured before putting it in action.[1] The Tvr in this respect sides with the Kashmirian version going a step further and informing us that it was with

1. BKM, III, pp. 75–74. Sls. 55–57 to 71–72; KSS, III, T. 1, Sls. 105–111, T. 2, Sls. 4–5.

the permission and approval of Pradyota himself that the plan was undertaken.[1] Bhāsa's view on this issue, although nowhere specifically clarified, can be inferred from the sixth act of the Svd. There are ample suggestions in it to the effect that Vāsavadattā's people earnestly believed her to have died in the fire at Lāvāṇaka. For example, the chemberlain of Pradyota laments on entering the Palace of Udayana, "Great is my joy on coming to the kingdom of our relation, but again I am stricken by grief at remembering the death of our king's daughter."[2] The message that Udayana receives from Aṅgāravatī, the mother of Vāsavadattā also clarifies that they were in ignorance of Vāsavadattā's existence[3] for Pradyota's message to his son-in-law shows his knowledge of the reinstallation of Udayana on the throne of Vatsa.[4] Therefore the affectionate message of Udayana's mother-in-law would have been superfluous, had Vāsavadattā's parents known of her raported death being a fake one for in that case, they would have been expecting Vāsavadattā and Yaugandharāyaṇa to reappear very soon. Moreover, Yaugandharāyaṇa's hurriedly sending back the messengers from Avantī, to convey the welfare of Vāsavadattā to her parents, positively decides that Yaugandharāyaṇa in the Bhāsa version of the Lāvāṇaka episode, did not let Vāsavadatta's people into the secret of her fake death.

On the other hand, in the Tvr Yaugandharāyaṇa, in the very beginning, informs us that Pradyota had given his approval to Vāsavadattā's temporary concealment under the pretext of her death.[5] Moreover, according to it, it is Pradyota who inspires Vāsavadatttā to the difficult sacrifice in the interests of her husband.[6]

Now of the two versions of the story, that of Svd seems definitely more acceptable because had Pradyota or Gopālaka known and abetted the conspiracy, it was more natural for Vāsavadattā to go to her people to while away the time of her

1. Tvr, Act I, pp, 6–9.
2 Svd, Act VI, p. 126, Sl. 5.
3. Ibid., Act. VI, p. 157.
4. Ibid., Act. VI, p. 127.
5. Tvr, Act I, p. 6, Sl. 6.
6. Tvr, Act I.p. 9, Sls. 9–10.

exile instead of living as a dependent in the household of Padmāvatī, a position she could not have liked much because of her inborn dignity and pride. Moreover, taking into consideration, the political situation of those times, it does not seem probable that Pradyota would favour his son-in-law's alliance with the king of Magadha with whom he was not on very good terms. Hence it is reasonable to accept Bhāsa's version that Vāsavadattā's people were as ignorant of her existence after the Lāvāṇaka episode as Udayana himself for the ministers did not let them into the secret of the deception.

According to the Kashmirian tradition, Udayana was confident on the strength of a prophecy by sage Nārada that he would be reunited to Vāsavadattā. Here it is not for political reasons that Udayana marries the princess of Magadha, he lets himself to be married to her for he was certain that he will get back Vāsavadattā this way. Moreover, as Yaugandharāyaṇa had anticipated, the unperturbed faces of Gopālaka, her brother and his ministers made him certain that everything was not as it was made to appear to be.[1] The Tvr also informs us of a prophecy which made Udayana marry Padmāvatī in the hope of gaining back Vāsavadattā.[2] Bhāsa, as we have seen, differs again. However, the Tvr is not certain itself about this point and in the absence of any news of Vāsavadattā, Udayana becomes desperate within a short time of getting married to Padmāvatī. He decides on suicide. Here too, one is inclined to favour the Bhāsa version that Udayana had accepted Vāsavadattā's death as genuine. Otherwise his piteous bewailings and pathetic lamentaions do not ring true when we are supposed to accept that he suspected that the death was a farce. The supernatural element that has been added here, makes it all the more unacceptable.

There is also a suggestion in the Svd that Vāsavadattā was not told about the proposed marriage of Padmāvatī to her husband. Of course, it was confided to her that her disappearance was necessary for the welfare of Udayana and the state. But the reason given might be that she was distracting Udayana from his duties. Her temporary exile would thus help him in

1. BKM, III, p. 76. Sls. 90–91, 93–94; KSS, III, T. 2, Sls. 51–56, 61.
2. Tvr, Act III, p. 38, Act IV, Sl. 12, p. 98.

concentrating his mind on the recovery of his lost territory from Āruṇi. This is quite a probability because of a few hints. Firstly, when she is told by the maid-servant of Padmāvatī that the latter's hand is being sought by Pradyota, the king of Avantī for his son, she is not sceptical about it as she would have been, had she known that Padmāvatī was going to be married to her husband as a diviner had foretold. Instead she takes the maid's information as a certainty :

"Lady hermit—My good child, does not any king solicit the hand of the sister of our blessed king ?

Maid—There is king Pradyota of Ujjayinī. He is sending messengers on behalf of his son.

Vāsavadattā. ( to herself )—Good, Good. She has become my own."[1]

In fact, she takes the information so seriously that after some time, we find her teasing Padmāvatī by calling her 'the would be daughter-in-law of Mahāsena.'[2] She is also shocked at the betrothal of Padmāvatī to Udayana and cannot hide her disappointment.[3]

We have no grounds to accept this version as final but all the same it is a probability which we have to consider that Yaugandharāyaṇa did not disclose to Vāsavadattā his whole plot lest she should revolt against it. All the scholars so far have accepted the view point that she willingly approved of sharing her husband's affections with a rival.

According to the Tvr, Udayana became an ascetic when he came to believe in Vāsavadattā's death. Also that Padmāvatī emulated him in it when she fell in love with him on seeing his portrait. In the absence of any confirmation by another authority, it makes us sceptical about accepting it as it is clearly a later development of the theme.

A question comes to the mind on reading all the versions: for driving away Āruṇi from Vatsa, why did Udayana's ministers not ask for help from Pradyota, the mighty king of Avantī ? Then they need not have gone to the length of having Udayana

1. Svd, Act I, p. 17.
2. Svd, Act II, pp. 42-43
3. Ibid., Act II, p. 47.

married once again at the cost of his and Vāsavadattā's happiness. The Tvr tries to solve the problem by saying that Yaugandharāyaṇa resolved to present a united front to the conqueror to which Pradyota and his sons agreed; yet their combined efforts seemed too feeble against the usurper and the assistance of one more powerful sovereign became absolutely necessary. But this solution does not appear very acceptable. That a king of Pradyota's calibre who was known as Mahāsena because of his large army could not drive a small king like Pāñcāla even with the help of the Vatsa army, seems rather improbable. Especially when we know that Avantī and Vatsa were two of the most powerful states of those times. Moreover, it is rather difficult to imagine the kings of Magadha and Avanti fighting side by side, as who Tvr would have us believe later, in view of the picture, supplied by the Pali and the Prakrit literatures, of the not so amiable relations between Magadha and Avantī.[1]

But there can be another plausible explanation of the ministers' desperately seeking the alliance of Magadha. Pradyota, as we have concluded before, must have taken some time to get reconciled to the idea of his daughter's eloping with his sworn enemy, as is borne out by the Svd and the BKŚS also. The affectionate message to Udayana from Aṅgāravatī makes it clear that no emissary had been sent previously in the intermediary period of Vāsavadattā's elopement and Udayana's regaining his territories. Evidently, unless Pradyota had expressed his approval of the marriage of his daughter with Udayana, his ministers could not have expected any help from Pradyota for all that they knew, he might well be nursing a grudge against them for the insult iflicted upon him by his daughter's elopement. Therefore, it must have become incumbent upon them to secure a strong ally in the powerful king of Magadha.

The Tvr also indicate that, on their own, Gopāla and Pālaka the princes of Avantī, joined their forces with Rumaṇvān's and valiantly defeated Aruṇi in a very tough battle and that all this took place without Udayana's knowledge. As we have remarked before, the idea of Pradyota's joining his forces to those of Magadha does not seem very acceptable. Moreover, this selfless looking after Udayana's interest by Darśaka, Gopāla

1. Maj, III, p. 7; KPP, Pradyotakathā, 76 ff.

and Pālaka without Udayan's taking any interest in it, seems rather farfetched. This again makes one inclined to favour the Svd version that Udayana reconquered his lost kingdom himself with only the alliance of Darśaka's forces,

On the whole, having looked critically at all these versions, one is led to believe in the authenticity of the Svd version of the Lāvāṇaka episode.

After the Lāvāṇaka episode, Vāsavadattā's tumultous life most probably, calmed down comparitively to that of the usual life of the harems of ancient Hindu kings. The BK tradition would have us believe that Udayana did not contract any other marriage after his marriage with Padmāvatī.

*Vāsavadattā as a jealous queen*

All the same, the BK tradition itself preserves the details of a few transgressions by Udayana from the path of fidelity to Vāsavadattā, even before the Lāvāṇaka episode. As Vāsavadattā was perhaps of a jealous temperament, she used to take great exception to it.

*Viracitā, Bandhumatī and Rajanikā*

According to the KSS, shortly after getting married to Vāsavadattā, Udayana renewed his affair With Viracitā, a maid-servant of his harem who had been his harlot even before his marriage. Consequently, he had to appease Vāsavadattā by failing at her feet.[1] The Svd also alludes to Viracitā's disturbing Vāsavadattā's married life.[2]

Bandhumatī, a princess presented by Gopālaka to his sister, has the role of another thorn in the side of Vāsavadattā. The latter was so angry at her husband's liaison with the former that she had his accomplice Vasantaka put in bondage. It was only with Sāṅkṛtyāyanī's interference that the king could bring about a reconciliation with his wife.[3]

The BKM associates Udayana with Rajanikā who was most probably no separate person, being a commingled presentation of Viracitā and Bandhumatī. Vāsavadattā out of anger at

1. KSS, II, T. 64, Sls. 65-66.
2. Svd, Act V., p. 109.
3. KSS, II, T. 6, Sls. 67-74.

Udayana's intimacy with her, is said to have had Vasantaka chained and bound.[1]

*Kaliṅgasenā*

Both the Kashmirian BK recensions inform us that Udayana had amorous inclinations towards Kaliṅgasenā also who was the princess of Takṣaśilā and came to Kauśāmbī with the specific purpose of getting married to the romantic Udayana.[2] Udayana was no less agreeable to the proposed match. It caused great grief to Vāsavadattā. However, the wily Yaugandharāyaṇa prevented the marriage from coming off as he had previously promised her that excepting Padmāvatī, she would not have to suffer any other rival.[3] On the grounds of some information which the BKŚS gives us, Lacôte has concluded that Kaliṅgasenā was only a courtesan who had become an intimate friend of Padmāvatī.[4] All the same, it does not preclude Udayana's having an affair with her. Most probably, this infidelity of Udayana made Vāsavadattā very uneasy as Kaliṅgasenā is said to have possessed a rare beauty which completely disarmed Udayana. However, Yaugandharāyaṇa, by his machinations, put an end to this intimacy, to assuage Vāsavadattā's discomfiture.

*Priyadarśikā and Ratnāvalī*

Śrīharsa in his two plays, makes Vāsavadattā play the role of a jealous wife who tries to obstruct her husband's romances with the respective heroines of these plays. They later turn out to be her cousins in disguise and this makes her give her approval to Udayana's marriages to them. However, we have reasons to believe as we shall see in chapter IV, that Ratnāvalī and Priyadarśikā are only new developments of Padmāvatī and Bandhumatī.

It seems very probable, therefore, that inspite of his genuine and deep attachment to Vāsavadattā, Udayana was given to occasional transgressions from the virtuous path of fidelity

1. BKM, II, G. 2, p. 67 Sls. 271–274.
2. BKM, VII, pp. 165–202; KSS, VI, T 5 4,5 pp. 130–140.
3. KSS, VI, T. 5, p. 139 Sls. 80–83, T 8, p. 150, Sl. 190.
4. Lacôte : Essai, pp. 110–111.

which used to upset Vāsavadattā much and which she tried to curb in the usual way of jealous queens.

*Vāsavadattā's son*

The next important event in Vāsavadattā's life after the Lāvāṇaka episode, was, most probably, the birth of her son. In the whole ancient Indian literature, only two streams of the Udayana legend, preserve the details of any issue of Vāsavadattā. In the Sanskrit literature, it is only the BK tradition upon which we have to depend for any information on this point. Our other informant is the Pali Udayana legend.

*Naravāhanadatta*

According to the BK tradition, Udayana was blessed with only one son who had for his mother, Udayana's favourite queen Vāsavadattā. His birth is maintained by these works, to have come considerably late in Udayana's life. In fact, all the three recensions mention that for quite some time after his romantic marriages with Vāsavadattā and Padmāvatī, Udayana remained issueless. According to the Kashmirian BK tradition, "One day, queen Vāsavadattā happened to notice a potter's wife in the company of her five sons. This sight made her poignantly despondent. Udayana happening to pay her a visit shortly after this, was naturally curious to know the cause of her grief. On knowing it, he suggested that together they should worship Lord Śiva to obtain the boon of a son. . .when the king and the queen had observed fast for three days and nights continuously, the deity was pleased and appearing to them in a dream, assured them that 'in near future, they would be blessed with a son who would be an incarnation of the God of love and was also destined to be the head of all the Vidyādharas.' The couple woke up very happy. Later, in another dream that the queen alone had, a venerable bearded sage gave her a fruit. This was taken to be a good omen by all. Shortly after this, queen Vāsavadattā conceived. During her pregnancy, she had the desire of an aerial tour which was taken to denote the child's proficiency in roaming above the earth. The ministers and the king himself took pains to satisfy her difficult 'dohada'.

'In due course of time, the queen gave birth to a very handsome son. At the time of the birth, a celestial voice told the king that his son was to be named Naravāhanadatta. The

child was named accordingly and the happy event was celebrated with great festivity by all."[1]

This account is remarkably silent about Padmāvatī. The BKŚS, on the other hand, explains how it was Vāsavadattā only who came to be blessed with a son. According to it, 'king Udayana became worried as to who would be heir to his kingdom after his death as he was issueless. After a few days, going to Vāsavadattā's apartments, he found her sitting in the midst of some Aśoka trees in a very melancholy mood. When he asked her the cause of her grief, he was told that the sight of a shepigeon feeding her chicks had made her despondent about her childlessness. The king on proceeding to queen Padmāvatī's apartments, could not perceive her anywhere and enquired of a maid about her whereabouts. He was told that she was in the garden, celebrating the marriage of a mango tree that she had adopted as a son with a Mādhavī creeper. The king was more saddened now as he came to realise that both his wives were languishing in a longing for a son. As a result, he had a consultation about the ways of getting a son with his ministers who were also issueless. It was decided to worship the deities so that they would be pleased to grant their wishes. Accordingly on an auspicious day, the king went to the Nāgavana with his wives and ministers. When Padmāvatī out of enthusiasm decided to practise the austerities, she was affectionately restrained by Vāsavadattā as she was very delicate, whereas Vāsavadattā had been hardened by various hardships. Moreover, Padmāvatī was assured by Vāsavadattā that the child that would be born to the latter, would be shared alike between them. Padmāvatī thus desisted, the king along with queen Vāsavadattā practised severe austerities and was successful in pleasing the deity.

'Shortly afterwards, queen Vāsavadattā conceived. During the course of her pregnancy, her mother-in-law, the queen mother Mṛgāvatī enquired from her her 'dohada' through Padmāvatī lest Vāsavadattā felt shy with her. Yaugandharāyaṇa when he came to know of it, with great difficulty had an air chariot prepared. Vāsavadattā accompanied by Udayana

1. BKM, IV, pp. 105–114;
KSS, IV, Ts. 1-3, pp. 80-93.

and Padmāvatī had her 'dohada' fulfilled making an aerial tour. Pradyota and Darśaka were also visited in the course of this aerial journey. After a short interval, Vāsavadattā gave birth to a very handsome boy under an auspicious constellation of stars. On the twelfth day of the birth, the usual rites were performed and amidst great festivities, the king gave to the child, the name of Naravāhanadatta as he was given to the king by Kubera, who is called Naravāhana, a Nara being his conveyance.[1]

It is obvious that here too, in the usual fashion of the BK, a lot of mythology has been added up to the real facts.

According to the BK tradition, Naravāhanadatta was married to Madanamañcukā, Kaliṅgasenā's daughter and was anointed emperor of the Vidyādharas later. His coronation ceremony was witnessed by Vāsavadattā in the company of both Udayana and Padmāvatī.[2]

*Bodhi*

The Pali tradition says that Vāsavadattā was the mother of Bodhi who later had erected in the Bhagga province, a beautiful palace called Kokanada.[3] It is also said that he was dedicated to the Buddha by his mother while he was still in womb. This information comes to us from the Maj. a canonical text. Bodhi discloses to Sañjikāputta that his mother during her pregnancy, visited Lord Buddha at the Ghositārāma and declared to him that whatever child was in her womb at that time, male or female; it would accept the threefold refuge of the Lord's religion."[4]

Nowhere else in the Pali literature, Vāsavadattā is said to have had any leanings towards the Budhist religion. Even the Dh PA which deals with Sāmāvatī's devotion for Lord Buddha and gives an account of her conversion to Buddhism, does not mention Vāsavadattā's religious beliefs although it is almost the only Pali work which gives any information about Vāsavadattā. Yet the Maj is a reliable text of the Pali

1. BKŚS, Cantos IV to VI.
2. BKM, XVII, p. 598 Sls. 44-54; KSS, XV, T. 2, Sls. 99-146.
3. Malalasekera : P. P. N. D., Vol. ii, p. 316; MNA on Maj. 85.
4. Maj. II, p. 97.

canon. However, as it does not specifically say that Vāsavadattā herself was a follower of Lord Buddha, its testimony is not much debatable.

Thus, on the basis of the information supplied by both the Sanskrit and the Pali legends, we can conclude that Vāsavadattā was blessed with a son who grew up to hold a responsible place, later in life.

### *Vāsavadattā's death*

None of the authorities, give us any information about Vāsavadattā's death except the Kashmirian BK tradition. According to it, she voluntarily committed suicide with Udayana some time after the anointment of her son as the emperor of the Vidyādharas.[1] The authenticity of this information will be discussed later on in connection with the end of Udayana.[2]

### *Kāñcanamālā, Vāsavadattā's principal attendant*

Most of the works which deal with any part of Vāsavadattā's life, depict Kāñcanamālā as her inseparable companion. The Sanskrit tradition informs us that she was Vāsavadattā's intimate friend at her parents' place; and was fully in picture about her mistress' romance with the royal prisoner in which she rendered active support. She is also said to have accompanied the lovers when they eloped to Kauśāmbī.[3]

In Bhāsa's plays, however, she is totally missing. Only the Pry mentions that Vāsavadattā was accompanied by her nurse when Udayana accidently saw her.[4]

In the Tvr as well as in Śrīharṣa's two plays which depict Vāsavadattā's life at Kauśāmbī as the queen, Kāñcanamālā is shown continuing her role of the former's confident-friend. In the Rtv and the Prd, moreover, she allies herself with the queen in obstructing the course of the love between Udayana and the respective heroines of these plays.

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1. BKM, XVIII, pp. 601-602, Sls. 30-36; KSS, XVI, T. 1, Sls. 54-84.
2. Chap. VII; 'Udayana-his end and thereafter'.
3. BKM, II, p. 56; KSS, II, T. 5, Sl. 22; Prd, Act III, pp. 54-66; Tvr, Act I, pp. 5-13, Act VI, pp. 70-71.
4. Pry, Act III, p. 93.

The Prakrit legend retains Kāñcanamālā in her role of Vāsavadattā's confident during Udayana's captivity at Avantī. But it also maintains that she was Vāsavadattā's nurse. However, about her accompanying the elopees to Kauśāmbī, the Prakrit tradition supports its Sanskrit counterpart.[1]

The Dh PA does note mention Kāñcanamālā at all, obviously, as it gives only a condensed version of the romance. In the Tibetan Kandjur, however, she plays a major role in the Udayanavāsavadattā romance. But here, she is said to be the sister of Yaugandharāyaṇa through whom he finds out if his master was alive in the captivity of Pradyota. Disguised as a beggar-woman, she enters the apartments of Vāsavadattā and discloses to her that her master is Vatsarāja Udayana. Thus it is she who brings about a meeting between the fair pupil and the amorous teacher.[2]

*Sāṅkṛtyāyanī, Vāsavadattā's other companion*

Sāṅkṛtyāyanī is found depicted as Vāsavadattā's counsellor companion in the KSS, the Prd and the Tvr. She is also said to have come with Vāsavadattā from her father's place. According to the KSS, she advocated the cause of Udayana when Vāsavadattā got angry with him on account of his intimacy with Bandhumatī.[3] Śrīharṣa makes her play the same role in the Prd.[4] In the Tvr, she has a more important part to fulfil. At Yaugandharāyaṇa's desire, she goes to Padmāvatī at Rājagṛha and shows her a portrait of Udayana. Moreover, she acts the nun with whom Padmāvatī makes her stay during temporary 'Pravrajyā'.[5] The KSS also calls her a parivrājikā.[6] The fact that in the Prd; she is repeatedly addressed as Bhagavatī by the other characters, makes one codclude that in this respect Śrīharṣa agreed with the KSS and the Tvr.[7]

*Bhadravatī*

As we have seen before, according to all the authorities that deal with the Udayana-Vāsavadattā romance, Bhadravatī was

1. KPP, Pradyotakathā, p. 81.
2. Lacôte : Essai, p. 233.
3. KSS, II, T. 6, Sls. 71-72.
4. Prd, Act III; pp. 49-69 Act IV. pp. 76-86.
5. Tvr, Prelude to Act III, p. 28; Act III, pp. 33-36.
6. KSS, II, T. 6, p. 46, Sl. 71.
7. Prd, Act III, p. 49; Act IV, p. 82.

used by Udayana as conveyance, in his flight from Pradyota's captivity. The BK tradition informs us that she was a celestial being, undergoing a curse, in the form of a she-elephant; and that her curse terminated when she had served Udayana in his flight, from Avantī. The Kashmirian BK recensions say that her original name was Māyāvatī. Āṣāḍhaka was the name of her keeper while she was serving Pradyota as a she-elephant, and Naḍāgiri was the only other conveyance of Pradyota that could surpass her in speed. According to both these works, she became very thirsty when she reached the Vindhya forests with the elopees on her back and after gulping down a lot of water, she fell down dead. The BKM adds that the wate, that she drank was poisonous.[1]

According to the BKŚS, in her original life, she was a servant of Kubera and her name was Bhadrā. She and her paramour Pūrṇabhadra were punished by Kubera to undergo the life of beasts when they happened to displease him. The BKŚS differs from its Kashmirian counterpart in maintaining that Bhadravatı died in a dense forest when Udayana had already entered his territories. It also adds that Udayana in his gratitude had a gate opened in the boundary wall of Kauśāmbī which he named after Bhadravatī.[2]

Bhāsa agrees with the KSS that Bhadravatī belonged to Vāsavadattā but maintains that her keeper Gātrasevaka was a spy of Yaugandharāyaṇa.[3]

According to the Pali tradition, Bhadravatī, the nimble-footed she-elephant of Pradyota, could cover fifty Yojanas in a day.[4] Jīvaka had made use of her in his flight from Pajjota's wrath.[5] The Pali tradition contradicts the Sanskrit tradition in maintaining that Bhadravatī did not die immediately after Udayana's flight from captivity and that she remained in Udayana's possession for a long time. In the Dlh J, we find her lodging a complaint with Lord Buddha that at first Udena

1. BKM, II, pp. 56-58, Sls. 135, 152, 158-161; KSS, II, T. 5, Sls. 6-7, 29.
2. BKŚS, Canto V, pp. 75-77.
3. KSS, T. 5, Sl. 6; Pry, Prelude to Act IV, p. 102.
4. Dh PA, i-Udv, p. 196.
5. Vin, i, 276 ff; AA, i, 216.

had paid her great honour, declaring that his life, queen and kingdom were all due to her; her stall was smeared with perfumed earth and hung with coloured hangings, a lamp burning perfumed oil and a dish of incense were set on one side in her stall. She used to stand on a coloured carpet and eat royal food of many flavours. But when she grew old and became incapable of any work, she was turned out by her master. The Buddha is said to have brought the matter to the notice of Udena who saw to it that all her former honours were restored to her.[1]

At present, it is difficult to decide between the Sanskrit and the Pali versions of the Bhadravatī legend.

*Nalagiri*

Another of Pradyota's nimblefooted conveyances was an elephant variously called Naḍāgiri, Nilagirī, Nīlagiri, Nalāgiri, Nālāgiri, Nalagiri and Analagiri by the various authorities. He is said to have been used by Udayana's pursuers when he fled from Avantī. According to the BK tradition he would never harm Bhadravatī.[2] The BKM explains this by saying that they were brother and sister.[3] The BKŚS contradicts it in maintaining that he was, in reality, her paramour, Pūrṇabhadra undergoing a curse.[4]

The Dh PA informs us that he could travel one hundred and twenty leagues in a day.[5]

1. J. III, p. 384, No. 409.
2. KSS, II, T. 5, Sl. 7; BKM, II, Sl, 152.
3. BKM, II, Sl. 152.
4. BKŚS, Canto V, p. 76.
5. DhPA, i-Udv, p. 196.

# CHAPTER IV

## UDAYANA AND HIS OTHER ROMANCES

Apart from Vāsavadattā, several other women have also been associated with Udayana by the various streams of the legend. Of these a few seem fake, some authentic and some can be mutually identified as they seem to be different developments of the same person. It seems advisable under the circumstances to take up and discuss the authenticity of these alleged romances, one by one.

### *Lalitā*

Of the women characters with whom the Sanskrit tradition associates Udayana, Lalitā is the first to enter his life. She has been mentioned by only the BKM and the Sk P.[1] These two accounts of her romantic association with Udayana and their authenticity have already been dealt with in connection with Udayana's early life in Chapter II.[2] In view of the absence of any mention of her in the other two recensions of the BK, viz., the KSS and the BKŚS and also in view of the improbability of Udayana's getting married, and also having a son at, at the most, the tender age of fourteen years, the Lalitā episode does not seem to be authentic. The addition on the part of the SkP, that Lalitā gave to Udayana a son,[3] seems definitely to be a fabrication. Because, if Udayana took him back to the hermitage with him what happened of him afterwards ? Acoording to the Sk P, he was presented to Sahasrānīka, his grandfather by Jamadagni when the happy reunion of the former with his wife Mṛgāvatī, took place.[4] But no mention of this son of Udayana, is found in any other work. In all the three BK recensions, Udayana calls himself childless before the birth of Naravāhanadatta and performs various rites to obtain a son.[5] It may be supposed, of course, that the son of Lalitā

1. BKM, II, G. i, p. 38, Sls. 58-59; Sk P, iii, 1, 5, Sls. 133-138.
2. Chap. II, Birth, early life and personality, pp. 75-76, 88.
3. Sk P, iii, 1, 5, Sls. 133-158.
4. Ibid., Sl. 154.
5. BKM, iv, p. 108;
KSS, iv, T. 1;
BKŚS, Canto iv, p. 38, Sl. 46.

had died meanwhile, but then it would have been more natural for Udayana to bewail the loss of his first-born. But Udayana never mentions him and this makes one doubtful about the authenticity of the Sk P account.

The absence of any mention of Lalitā in BKM's sister recensions becomes more significant when we remember, in this connection, that although the BKŚS often contradicts its Kashmirian counterparts, the KSS and the BKM, these two generally agree with each other about any controversial point. Moreover, of these two, it is usually the KSS which gives a more detailed account of any episode in Udayana's life. Therefore, the absence of any mention of Lalitā in the KSS,[1] cannot be dismissed as negligible.

All these factors make one rather doubtful about Lalitā's association with Udayana. It is more reasonable to suppose that his visit to the serpent-world, if it did take place, was devoid of any romantic entangelment.

*Vasudattī*

In connection with Lalitā, it becomes necessary to discuss Udayana's marriage with Vasudattī, another Nāga maiden with whom he has been associated. The Prk quotes a story from the Nāgamata which goes thus :

'Vasudattī was the beautiful daughter of Vāsuki, king of the serpents and his wife Nāmaladevī. This king was reigning at Krauñcaharaṇa, a city in the 'Pātāla'. The name of Vāsuki's Pratihāra was Takṣaka. Once Vasudattikā came to know through one of her fourteen friends, of the extraordinary loveliness of the gardens of Kauśāmbī on the earth. Accompanied by her friends, she reached there, merely by wishing it and began to amuse herself with various frolics. When Udayana, the king of Kauśāmbī came to know of it from his garden-keeper, he hurried to his gardens and had a good look at the Nāga maidens whose extraordinary beauty struck him at once. But when he tried to follow Vasudattī, all her friends vanished. She also entered a hole. Anticipating that she was also going to disappear, Udayana cut away her plait. She, however, disappeared leaving the plait in his hands. Udayana was now

1. KSS, II, T. 1-3.

struck by remorse. He went to Kauśāmbī and summoning his ministers, announced to them that for expiating the sin of cutting the plait of a girl, he was going to install that plait as their ruler. They were agreeable to the proposal and the plait was duly installed on the throne.

'Meanwhile, the saddened and worried Vasudattikā went to her palace and slept. Her friends saw that her plait had been cut away and calling Nāmaladevī, showed this to her. She asked her daughter when she woke up as to how it had happend. Vasudattī related everything to her. Nāmaladevī retold everything to her husband. Enraged, he had Taksaka called, told him the whole story and asked him to go and destroy Udayana with all his country. Obeying his orders, Taksaka went to Kauśāmbī where a festival was being held. Assuming a human form, he asked someone the reason of all this festivity, who replied, "Our king happened to cut away the plait of a celestial girl. Overtaken by remorse, he has given away his kingdom to the plait which is now our queen. The king is here but he is doing penance in some corner." Taksaka saw the whole festival. Amidst his wanderings, he happended to see the king also who had grown very lean on account of the penance that he was undergoing. Taksaka asked him the reason for his penance. He was replied that as the latter was guilty of cutting away the plait of a beautiful maiden, he had given away his kingdom to that plait and was doing penance to expiate his sin. When Takṣaka came to know it, he did not cause any trouble and went back to Pātāla where he said to Vāsuki, "O Lord, I have seen Udayana, the city of the plait and the festival of that kingdom. Udayana is virtuous and gentle-hearted and he is doing hard penance as he is overtaken by remorse. He deserves being honoured." This satisfied the king of the serpents. He asked Takṣaka as to what behoved him now. Takṣaka replied that Vasudattī should be given to Udayana for he deserved her. The consent of Nāmaladevī and Vasudattī was sought then. They were agreeable to the proposal. Udayana was invited by Vāsuki through Taksaka. The marriage rites commenced. In the very first dowry, Udayana acquired Kāmadhenu along with her calf. In the second, he got Nāgavallī of a special type. In the third he was given a 'Sopadhānā satūlikā' cot

and in the fourth dowry he got the 'Ratnodyota' lamp. Thus Vāsuki honoured his son-in-law and afterwards sent him with his wife to Kauśāmbī. There, Udayana enjoyed his rich kingdom."[1]

The Prk also informs us that Udayana is said to have married Vasudattī before his marriages with Vāsavadattā and Padmāvatī.[2]

This particular romance of Udayana has so much mythology mixed up with it that it is difficult to find out the truth from it. This reminds one of the BKM and the Sk P accounts of Udayana's marriage with Lalitā, the serpent maiden. In both the stories, it is said to be Udayana's first marriage but whereas Lalitā's marriage with Udayana is said to have taken place before Udayana's ascension to the throne of Kauśāmbī, his romance with Vasudattī takes place when he is already ruling at Kauśāmbī. But in both the stories, it is Udayana's first marriage. Moreove, Vasudattī is made to accompany him to Kauśāmbī, where they are supposed to have enjoyed the pleasures of married life for quite some time, whereas Lalitā, according to both the Sk P and the BKM, left Udayana for good on the eve of his departure from the serpent world. She did not even accompany him to the hermitage where he is said to have spent his early life.

The Prk itself dismisses the story of Vasudattī as improbable,[3] after quoting it from the Nāgamata.

The resemblance of the name Vāsudattī with Vāsavadattā seems very significant. Another fact which it is difficult to over look, is that both Lalitā and Vasudattī, are serpent-maidens and Udayana is said to have married them in the Netherworld. Therefore, it seems quite probable that the Nāgamata only gives the story of Lalitā in a changed form. After all, the BKM and the Sk P must either have based their story of Lalitā on some tradition already prevalent in their times, or they must have given birth to a new tradition about Udayan's affair with a serpent maiden. The Nāgamta seems to have taken up this tradition and changed it to suit its purposes.

1. Prk, 19 Vrdpr, pp. 86-88.
2. Prk, 19 Vrdpr, p. 88.
3. Prk, 19 Vrdpr, p. 88.

The inseparability of Vāsavadattā from Udayana, most probably, led the Nāgamata, to give to the Lalitā of the BKM and the Sk P, the name of Vasudattī-Vasudattikā. Or perhaps Vāsavadattā got changed into Vasudattī in some versions of the legend and was later identified with Udayana's serpent-wife of the BKM and the Sk P.

Thus, Vasudattī seems a fictitious character, only a changed form of Lalitā and her marriage with Udayana was probably only a fabrication which gathered round the romantic personality of Udayana.

*Vāsavadattā*

The next woman character who entered Udayana's eventful life was, according to the Sanskrit tradition, Vāsavadattā who became inseparable from him in Indian literature. Udayana's romance and marriage with her has already been dealt with in detail.[1]

*Viracitā*

The KSS and the Svd are the only works which give us any information about Viracitā–Viracikā. According to the former, Viracitā was a maid-servant of Udayana's harem. She had been Udayana's harlot even prior to his marriage with Vāsavadattā. After his marriage, he is said to have renewed his liaison with her. When Vāsavadattā came to know about the affair through a '*Gotraskhalana*' on Udayana's part, she got highly enraged with him and could only be appeased by her erring husband's falling and bowing at her feet.[2]

We have no reason to discredit the KSS account of Udayana's affair with Viracitā. It seems natural for a man of Udayana's amorous temperament to stray away in such a way from the virtuous path of monogamy, once or twice in a while. The authenticity of this evidence increases when we remember in this connection that the KSS makes much of Udayana's love for Vāsavadattā. It would not have recorded the Viracitā episode unless it was definite adout its authenticity.

Confirmation of the KSS about Udayana's affair with Viracitā, comes to us surprisingly from the Svd of Bhāsa. In

1. Chap. III : Udayana and Vāsavadattā.
2. KSS, II, T. 6, Sls. 65-66.

the dream sequence we find Udayana guessing after the cause behind Vāsavadattā's apparent anger. He mistakenly supposes her to be angry with him on account of Viracitā and tries to appease her.[1]

In some readings of the Svd, this woman character is named as Viracikā.

Bhāsa's testimony makes one doubly sure about the authenticity of the Viracitā episode in Udayana's life. However, it is also clear from the two testimonies that it was only a passing fancy on Udayana's part and was soon remedied through the hold that Vāsavadattā had over him.

### *Bandhumatī*

According to the KSS the Viracitā episode was not the only one of its type. At least once again, Udayana strayed away in a similar way.

'In some conquest of his, Gopālaka, Queen Vāsavadattā's brother found a princess called Bandhumatī and presented her to his sister who gave her the name of Mañjulikā and kept her hidden in her palace. One day, the king accompanied by Vasantaka, accidentally had a look at her in the garden and as she was exceptionally beautiful, he got enamoured of her and married her secretly, by the Gāndharva rites. Unfortunately, this tender scene was observed by the Queen who was standing by silently and unnoticed. She got naturally enraged and had Vasantaka bound. Then the king requested Sāṅkṛtyāyanī to come to his rescue. As she had great power over the queen she was successful in appeasing her to the extent that Vāsavadattā gave her consent to Udayana's marriage with Bandhumatī.'[2]

It seems reasonable to accept Bandhumatī's existence like Viracitā's. As she was of a royal family, Udayana had to marry her first before getting her and this very fact must have also made Vāsavadattā sanction the marriage. As we shall discuss later, this Bandhumatī is developed into Priyadarśikā by Śrīharṣa.

1. Svd, Act V, p. 100.
2. KSS, II, T. 6, Sls. 67-74.

### *Rajanikā*

Information about Rajanikā comes to us from the BKM, though not much can be gathered about her from this account. It simply says that the king got enamoured of Rajanikā and once making a mistake, addressed the queen by her name. Getting very angry, the queen had Vasantaka bound and would not speak to the king. However, the king succeeded in conciliating her ultimately when Vasantaka was set free.[1] What happened of poor Rajanikā afterwards, the BKM does not tell us. However, the story of Rajanikā leads one to suppose that Kṣemendra got confused between the two different characters, Viracitā and Bandhumatī of the KSS and in his confusion, mixed them up into one person and gave to this new personality a new name, Rajanikā. This is evident as the story of Rajanikā has some parts of the story of Viracitā, viz. the queen's knowing the secret of the king's affair through his '*Gotraskhalana*'. The rest of Rajanikā story goes like that of Bandhumatī including the binding of Vasantaka. Sāṅkṛtyāyanī, however, plays no part in the Rajanikā story. Therefore, most probably Rajanikā was not a separate character in Udayana's life, being only a mixture of Viracitā and Bandhumatī.

However, as for the name Rajanikā, it could be as authentic as Bandhumatī. Viracitā is the most certain of all the three names as Bhāsa also makes a reference to it. Viracitā must have, therefore, been a different person in her own right. Bandhumatī who assumed the name of Mañjulikā in Udayana's harem, could as well have been called Rajanikā instead of Mañjulikā. It is difficult under the circumstances to decide between the two pseudonyms. But most probably, the real name of the princess was Bandhumatī.

### *Padmāvatī*

Udayana's marriage with princess Padmāvatī of Magadha has already been dealt with in connection with the Lāvāṇaka episode.[2] But there are certain other problems in the story of Padmāvatī, which will be discussed here.

1. BKM, II, G. 2, pp. 67-68, Sls. 271-274.
2. Chap. III, Udayana and Vāsavadattā.

Unfortunately, the story of Udayana's marriage with Padmāvatī is found only in the Sanskrit tradition. The Pali tradition does not mention her at all in the story of Udayana. Of the Jain works, the Mrgvc depicts her as Udayana's wife[1] but the unavailability of this valuable work, makes it impossible for one to find out the views of the Jain tradition about Padmāvatī. The Prk is the only other Jain work which mention her marriage with Udayana. But its views about the identity of Padmāvatī, do not tally with those of the Sanskrit works.

*The Identity and Personality of Padmāvatī*

We have already discussed the controversy between the Kashmirian BK tradition on the one hand and the BKŚS, Svd and Tvr traditions on the other, about Padmāvatī's relationship with Udayana's contemporary king of Magadha and have concluded that Padmāvatī whom Udayana married was the sister of king Darśaka of Magadha and not the daughter of king Pradyota of Magadha as the Kashmirian BK tradition would have us believe.[2] According to the Prk, after marrying Vāsavadattā, Udayana married Padmāvatī, daughter of the king of Ḍāhala Country.[3] But no other work confirms this contention of the Prk which is a much later work as compared to the other works which maintain that Udayan's wife, Padmāvatī was the princess of Magadha. Therefore, it seems obvious that the Prk has somehow made a mistake about Padmāvatī's identity.

The fact that Padmāvatī was, probably the sister of the king of Magadha and not his daughter, leads one to conclude that her father was not alive at the time of her marriage with Udayana. The Svd also suggests that Padmāvatī was, in reality, only Darśaka's half sister and that her mother was also not alive at that time. Because in its first act, we are told that Padmāvatī was returning from a visit to the mother of king Darśaka, her brother.[4] Naturally it is to be inferred that Padmāvatī and Darśaka, did not have the same mother.

1. Introduction, p. 27; Winternitz : H. I. L., Vol. II, p. 536.
2. Chap. I, Age and genealogy, pp. 40-48.
3. Prk, 19 Vrdpr, p. 88.
4. Svd, Act I, p. 14.

Padmāvatī's mother is neither mentioned by Bhāsa nor anyone else. The mother of Darśaka, widow of the late king whose wife she had been in title—'Mahādevī' has retired into a hermitage. Thus, Padmāvatī does not have any parents with her. Probably, her brother has reared her up. It is the wife of Darśaka who is referred to as Bhaṭṭinī in the Svd and who presides at the nuptial ceremony of Padmāvatī.[1] The latter seems to be very young at the time of her marriage. She is only a child who amuses herself with the games of her age such as playing with the ball.[2]

The Tvr, however, depicts the mother of Padmāvatī as living at the time of her romance with Udayana. When Padmāvatī decides on a temporary renunciation of family life, her mother voices a natural protest at her decision.[3] The Padmāvatī of the TVr is very mature and serious. When she fixes her heart upon Udayana, she gravely becomes a nun,[4] an action which can never be expected from the Padmāvatī of Bhāsa.

Budhasvāmin's depiction of Padmāvatī, agrees with that of Bhāsa. The Padmāvatī of the BKŚS, although as exalted in lineage as Vāsavadattā, is much more frivolous. While in the attitude of the latter there is always the imprint of seriousness and dignity, Padmāvatī amuses herself with light-hearted jokes and burlesque comedies. 'In the court of Udayana she is the protectress of courtesans.'[5] One is struck by her familiarity with Kalingasenā. Without the knowledge of the king and Vāsavadattā, she plans in complicity with Kaliṅgasenā those ruses which cause Gomukha, the friend and confident of Naravāhanadatta to become familiar with the courtesans, and the young prince to fall in love with Madanamañjukā, the daughter of Kaliṅgasenā to the extent of marrying her.[6] She is so lighthearted that when Vāsavadattā dissuades her from practising hard austerities to get a son, she readily gives in.[7]

1. Svd, Act II, p. 49; Act III, p. 53; Act iv, Prelude, p. 61.
2. Svd, Act II, pp. 40-41.
3. Tvr, Act III, p. 28.
4. Tvr, Act III, p. 28.
5. Lacôte : 'S. V. B.' (J. A., 1919).
6. BKŚS, Cantos X, XI.
7. BKŚS, V, p. 48, Sls. 12-16.

The BKM and the KSS, do not pay much attention to Padmāvatī, apart from idealising her in the same way in which they have idealised many other real life characters. According to them, Padmāvatī's mother was alive at the time of her marriage.[1] But this can as well be a natural outcome of the fact that they depict Padmāvatī as the daughter of Udayana's contemporary king of Magadha whose wife was most probably alive then. All the same, our present data do not enable us to say definitely, whether Padmāvatī's mother was living at the time of her marriage or not. One is, however, inclined to favour the Svd's suggestion in view of the fact that it is much earlier than the Tvr and is generally more faithful to the story of Udayana than the Kashmirian BK tradition and the Tvr. Probably, Budhasvāmin's views if they could be known, would have supported Bhāsa on this point also as he otherwise agrees with Bhāsa's depiction of Padmāvatī.

*The Abhisārikāvañcitaka story*

Two extracts of the lost play, AbhV, furnish us with some material from which we may have some idea of its plot. According to it, Padmāvatī was accused of murdering Udayana's son. Mutual jealousy and hatred are not unusual features where polygamy prevails and the capricious king probably gave full credence to the prevailing rumour and lost his self control. His deep love turned into deep hatred. Rage and fury took possession of him. He saw in Padmāvatī, no longer, a nymph of celestial beauty but a "Serpent woman glowing with flames of poison." He rebuked Padmāvatī in menacing tones.

Finding that she had lost the love of Udayana, Padmāvatī tried to regain it. To go and plead before the king would be useless and futile as he was by no means very rational. His rashness and cruelty must have been well known to his wife. Hence she hit upon a plan and dressed as a charming huntress, she attracted the attention of the amorous Udayana. As time rolled on, Udayana found himself completely enmeshed in her

1. BKM, III, p. 75;
KSS, III, T. 2, p. 53, Sl. 32.

love. When Padmāvatī was sure of the king's attachment to her, she revealed her identity.[1]

The title of the play is significant of the fact that by a clever impersonation of a huntress, Padmāvatī in the role of an 'abhisārikā', deceived the king and regained his lost love.

But this scanty information leaves a few doubts in one's mind. Udayana had many wives and we cannot decide whether Padmāvatī killed Udayana's son, born of Vāsavadattā or of some other cowife. R. Ramamurti is however inclined to believe that Padmāvatī was accused of murdering Vāsavadattā's son.[2]

It is also doubtful whether Padmāvatī was only accused of the murder or she was actually guilty of it. That Padmāvatī remained issueless to the end of her days is almost certain. The BKŚS takes particular pains to explain how she remained issueless while Vāsavadattā was blessed with a son. But its assertion that Vāsavadattā dissuaded Padmāvatī from practising penance to procure a son, out of mere consideration for the latter's delicacy, is open to question. Such goodwill between two rival cowives is too much to believe. Especially as both of them belonged to equally high royal families and the birth of a son to either of them, would have raised her rank far above the other. Even, in future, the mother of a son was to enjoy a far more superior status as the mother of the king. This might well have made Padmāvatī jealous of Vāsavadattā who was the husband's favourite as well as the mother of the heir presumptive. On the other hand, poor Padmāvatī could well have been the victim of a malicious slander and intrigue which are common features of the harems of polygamous kings.

Therefore, the Abh V testimony is, unfortunately, not at all conclusive. It only informs us that according to one tradition, prevalent in Viśākhadeva's time, one of Udayana's son was murdered and Padmāvatī was suspected of the crime.

1. J. R. O. M., 1928, Part II, 'The AbhV–a forgotten play of Viśākhadeva' by R. Ramamurti; Abhbh, Vol. III, p. 55, Srnpr, Vol II, p. 484.
2. J. R. O. M., 1928, Part II, 'The Abh V–a forgotten play of Viśākhadeva'.

### *Authenticity of Padmāvatī*

The significant absence of Padmāvatī in the Pali literature has made some scholars inclined to doubt her existence in Udayana's life. She is also conspicuously absent in Śrīharṣa's plays. But this problem can be easily resolved. As we shall see later on, Ratnāvalī is only a changed form of Padmāvatī. Therefore, Harṣa, could not as well associate Udayana with Padmāvatī also. Still, there is one character in Priyadarśikā which reminds one of Padmāvatī. In the third act, the jester says that he had been searching for Āraṇyikā in the palaces of queen Vāsavadattā and queen Premāvatī but could not find her.[1] Now, according to this play itself, Priyadarśikā came into Udayana's life, shortly after his flight from Pradyota's captivity.[2] At that time, Udayana is depicted as already having two wives, Vāsavadattā and Premāvatī. We have previously concluded that Vāsavadattā was, most probably, Udayana's first wife. Now, it is obvious that by Premāvatī, Śrīharṣa is alluding to Padmāvatī of the BK, Svd and Tvr traditions. Therefore, Śrīharṣa raised no difficulty in our granting Padmāvatī a place in Udayana's romantic life.

Some scholars believe that Padmāvatī can be identified with the wicked Māgandiyā of the Pali literature.[3] This point shall, however, be discussed in detail later on. At present, the agreement of the Sanskrit and the Prakrit traditions about her marriage with Udayana strengthens one's belief in it and it seems logical to accept the story of Padmāvatī as given by the Sanskrit tradition.

### *Kaliṅgasenā*

Kaliṅgasenā is the only other woman whom the BK tradition links romantically with Udayana. She is not found mentioned anywhere else. Her story is given in detail in the BKM and the KSS. The BKŚS only refers, occasionally, to her. According to both the BKM and the KSS, 'Kaliṅgasenā was the daughter of king Tārādatta of Takṣaśilā. For her marriage, her father was entertaining the proposal of king Prasenajit of

1. Prd, Act III, p. 46.
2. Ibid., Prelude to Act I, p. 7.
3. Lacôte : Essai, pp. 271-272;
P. F. O. C.-Vol. II, Tvr by M. R. Kavi, p. 171.

Śrāvastī.[1] But Somaprabhā, the friend and confidant of Kaliṅgasenā did not approve of this match for her friend and suggested to the latter that Vatsarāja Udayana was the only fit match for her. She took her friend alongwith her, by air, to have a look at Prasenajit and as she had anticipated, Kalingasenā was repelled by his advanced age. Then they proceeded to Kauśāmbī, by air again, where both had a good look at Udayana. Kaliṅgasenā was, instantaneously, enamoured of him and decided to marry him instead of Prasenajit. But Somaprabhā warned her not to rush matters as this would ruin her chances and asked her to have patience until Somaprabhā returned in the morning to see to the matters herself. After her departure, however, Kalingasenā got very impatient and in her hurry, sent her chamberlain as a messenger to Udayana, offering herself in marriage to the latter. As Udayana had already heard about Kalingasenā's extraordinary beauty, he was very agreeable to the proposal. He sent for Yaugandharāyaṇa at once and in secret, communicated to the minister his decision of marrying Kalingasenā and asked him to make preparaptions for the marriage. Now Yaugandharāyaṇa was against this marriage from the beginning as he was afraid of the consequences resulting from it. As Kaliṅgasenā was exceptionally beautiful, the king would get extremely and exclusively attached to her which would hurt Vāsavadattā very much and apart from other disastrous results of this marriage, would also antagonise the two influential kings of Avantī and Magadha. But he wisely refrained from opposing the king and taking Vāsavadattā and Padmāvatī into his confidence, assured them that he would not let the marriage take place, advising them to behave normally and submissively because any opposition to his wishes would only strengthen the king's resolve to marry Kaliṅgasenā. Yaugandharāyaṇa also asked for the help of Yaugeśa—his Brahmarākṣasa friend to ward off the marriage. Meanwhile, Somaprabhā had come back to Kaliṅgasenā in the morning but when she came to know of the new developments that had taken place through her friend's impatience, she chided her and

1. The BKM has got confused about the identity of this king. ( BKM xiii, p. 456., Sls. 83-84 ). The name is also given a little differently. All the same, as has been shown in Chap. I, ( pp. 43-44 ) it is most probable that this character is king Prasenajit of Śrāvastī.

went away. Yaugandharāyaṇa on some pretext or other, such as the inauspiciousness of a particular day, went on putting off the marriage. Taking advantage of this delay Madanavega a vidyādhara who had been enamoured of Kaliṅgasenā for a long time, went to her, disguised as Udayana and married her. Yaugeśa reported to Yaugundharāyaṇa that Udayana had secretly married Kalingasenā, but it was soon clear that a deception had been played upon her and it was not Udayana who had married her. Even then, Udayana was willing to accept the wronged Kaliṅgasenā but she decided to devote herself to her husband Madanavega. Thuse the marriage was averted much to the satisfaction of Yaugandharāyaṇa and Udayana's two queens. Udayana was very much disappointed at first but gradually his wound healed up.

'After some time, a daughter of rare and singular beauty was born to Kaliṅgasenā and was named Madanamañcukā. Udayana decided to have her married to his son Naravāhavadatta and on Yaugandharāyaṇa's approving of the match, the two children were betrothed. When they became of marriageable age, their marriage was performed with great pomp and show to the satisfaction of all.[1]

In the BKŚS, however, Kalingasenā is depicted as a courtesan and as the head of a house of prostitutes.[2] Once her daughter, Madanamañjukā happened to see Naravāhanadatta, the son of Udayana and got enamoured of him. Kalingasenā, then took queen Padmāvatī in her confidence and together the two planned a few ruses which ultimately brought off the marriage of Naravāhanadatta and Madanamañjukā.[3]

In an earlier passage, 'Kalingasenā enters the courthall of Udayana with her daughter. Udayana asks her whose beautiful daughter she has brought with her. When he is told that she is Kalingasenā's daughter, he takes her on his knees, and fondles her. The diviner Ādityaśarman quickly takes the 'lagna' and exclaims that it is excellent. It pleases the king. When

1. KSS, VI, T. Sl. 8; BKM, VII, pp. 158-208.
2. BKŚS, X, p. 128, Sl. 190.
3. Ibid., Cantos X and XI.

the mother and daughter take their leave the king makes very costly presents to both of them.'[1]

Of the two depictions of Kaliṅgasenā, Lacôte is inclined to favour that of the BKŚS. In his opinion, the conduct of Yaugandharāyaṇa is absurd and odious in this affair, if Kaliṅgasenā is the daughter of a king, while it is reasonable, if not moral, when Kaliṅgasenā is made a 'Gaṇikā.'[2] It is quite probable that in the Kashmirian BK tradition Madanavega, a mythological character, was only introduced to give to Madanamañcukā a respectable origin. But the BKŚS allusions to Kaliṅgasenā, need not make us reject totally the Kashmirian BK tradition of her romance with Udayana. The BKŚS account of her appearance at Udayana's court, makes it evident that at that time, she was not a stranger to Udayana. Moreover, the diviner's exclamation cannot be understood if we are not to accept, that some talks about Naravāhanadatta's marriage with Madanamañjukā had already taken place. We can safely assume, therefore, that Udayana was at one time having an affair with Kalingasenā, a courtesan but Yaugandharāyaṇa, lest it displeased the temperamental chief queen Vāsavadattā, took pains to see to it that it came to a quick end. Later on, when a beautiful daughter was born to Kalingasenā, Udayana decided on her as a future match for his son, Naravāhanadatta, even if no actual betrothal ceremony took place.

*Śrīharṣa's heroines*

Śrīharṣa, in his two plays, Rtv and Prd, links Udayana romantically with two more princesses as we shall presently see.

*Priyadarśikā*

According to the Prd, 'Dṛḍhavarman, the king of Aṅga had a daughter of exceptional beauty who was called Priyadarśanā. The king of Kalinga asked Dṛḍhavarman for her hand but his proposal was turned down by the latter. She was, instead, betrothed to king Udayana of Kauśāmbī. This naturally enraged the king of Kalinga who in order to avenge his hurt pride, attacked the king of Anga with a huge army and was

1. BKŚS, VII, pp. 83–86.
2. Lacôte : Essai, p. 211.

successful in defeating and imprisoning Dṛḍavarman. During the confusion that followed the falling of Aṅga, the chamberlain of Dṛḍhavarman fled away taking Priyadarśikā along with him. He intended to take her to Udayana according to her father's wishes. On his way to Kauśāmbī, he placed her in the care of Vindhyaketu, a forest king of the Vindhya regions who was a friend and ally of Dṛḍhavarman ; and went away to take a bath at the holy bathing place of Agastya.

'In the meantime, Vatsarāja Udayana had sent his army under the generalship of Vijayasena against Vindhyaketu. The latter was defeated and slain in the battle that ensued. Priyadarśikā who was found in Vindhyaketu's abode, was naturally taken to be his daughter and was presented to Vatsarāja as such who sent her to Vāsavadattā with instructions to treat her as her sister and educate her in all the fine arts that a princess should know such as singing and dancing, etcetera. Udayana was to be informed when she came to marriageable age so that she might be duly and suitably married.

'Thus Priyadarśikā began to live in the apartments of Vāsavadattā but she did not disclose her real identity to anyone. As she was found in a forest, she was given a new name Āraṇyikā. Now, it happened that the mothers of Vāsavadattā and Priyadarśikā were sisters and thus their daughters were related to each other as cousins. But Vāsavadattā was ingnorant of the fact as she did not know the real identity of Āraṇyikā.

One day, Āraṇyikā with another attendant went to the royal garden to get some flowers for the queen. There, she was spotted by Udayana who fell in love with her on the spot. Āraṇyikā also fell a prey to his charms, recognising him as Vatsarāja to whom she had been betrothed.

'Vasantaka, Udayana's jester friend and Manoramā, Āraṇyikā's confidant, came to know of their mutual attachnent and by holding consultations together, devised a plan for bringing about a union of the two pining lovers. Sāṅkṛtyāyanī, a venerable old ascetic who had come to Vāsavadattā from her father's house, had written a play about the courtship of Udayana and Vāsavadattā. This was to be played on the stage for the amusement of the queen with Āraṇyikā and

Manoramā in the roles of Vāsavadattā and Udayana. Vasantaka and Manoramā planned it so that the king was to play his own role. By this contrivance, he and Āraṇyikā were to be united in wedlock by the Gāndharva rites.

'When the play was being presented on the stage, Vāsavadattā got dissatisfied with the depiction of her love story as it was exaggerated by Sāṅkṛtyāyanī to suit the dramatic purposes. Leaving the play in the middle she went away and discovered Vasantaka sleeping at the door of the green room. This aroused her suspicions and she managed to find out from him that the king was himself playing his role. At this her wrath knew no bounds and she ordered, Āraṇyikā and Vasantaka to be put in chains. Frustrated and ashamed, the king tried to appease her but all his solicitations proved of no avail.

Meanwhile, the army that Udayana had despatched under the leadership of his General, Vijayasena, on learning of Dṛḍhavarman's dethronement, to vanquish Kaliṅga and to re-establish Dṛḍhavarman on the throne of Aṅga, had fulfilled its mission successfully. The victorious Vijayasena was accompanied to Kauśāmbī by the chemberlain of Dṛḍhavarman who on his return to Vindhyaketu's palace, could not trace Priyadarśikā and losing all hopes of regaining her, had gone to his master to serve him in the prison. When all these tidings were being related to the king and queen of Vatsa, Dṛḍhavarman's chamberlain told them that his master's only sorrow was that now Vatsarāja could not be his direct son-in-law as his daughter Priyadarśikā who had previously been betrothed to him had got lost more than a year ago. This was a shocking news to Vāsavadattā who was very much afflicted by the loss of her cousin. At this juncture Manoramā made a sudden entry with the news that Āraṇyikā's life was in danger as she had poisoned herself. Leaving her personal grief aside, Vāsavadattā asked Manoramā to fetch Āraṇyikā there as the king was an expert in curing poison which art he had learnt in the course of his visit to the serpent world. When Āraṇyikā was brought in, Dṛḍhavarman's chamberlain recognised her as his master's daughter and exclaimed that she was the best princess Priyadarśikā of Aṅga. Vāsavadattā was now more shocked and deeply aggrieved. She entreated the king

to save her cousin which he did, as he was skilled in curing the poison. The queen, rejoicing in finding her cousin alive in her own palace, bestowed her hand on Vatsarāja in fulfilment of the pledge made by her uncle Dṛḍhavarman. Thus, all concerned were made happy.'

It is noteworthy in this connection that the falling down of Anga took place when Udayana was in Pradyota's captivity. This becomes clear from the fact that the chamberlain of Dṛḍhavarman, learns of Udayana's subsequent elopement with Vāsavadattā, when Priyadarśikā had already got lost during the plunder that followed the defeat of Vindhyaketu.[1]

Now, there is one discrepancy in the story of Priyadarśikā, Śrīharṣa seeks to maintain that very amiable relations existed between the two royal families of Anga and Avantī as they were related to each other ; Vāsavadattā's mother sends a letter to her daughter chiding her for not asking her husband to help her uncle.[2]

It seems only reasonable to expect that Priyadarśikā knew of her relationship with Vāsavadattā. When she was brought to Udayana's household, it could not have escaped her notice that her own cousin was the queen of Kauśāmbī and the supereme power in the royal harem as the queen is repeatedly referred to as queen, Vāsavadattā in the play. Moreover, a play is enacted in which the love story of Udayana and Vāsavadattā is depicted and Priyadarśikā herself plays the role of the latter in it. It is most curious, therefore, that she did not disclose her identity to her cousin. No plausible excuse can be given for this strange reticence of hers as it gives rise to various unpleasant complications.

It has been accepted by scholars that the story of Priyadarśikā is only a developed and changed version of the story of Bandhumatī as narrated in the KSS.[3] This conclusion inevitably springs to one's mind on comparing the two stories. In both, the broad framework is the same. The heroine is a princess obtained amidst the spoils of a war and presented to

1. Prd, Śuddhaviṣkambhaka to Act I, p. 7, App. 16 to Chap. I.
2. Prelude to Act IV, p. 74.
3. P. V. Ramanujaswami : Introduction to Prd, pp. 41-43.

the royal household of Udayana. There she spends her life under a pseudonym. Meeting her accidentally, the king gets enamoured of her because of her good looks and their affair prospers with the assistance of Vasantaka. It is specially noticeable in this connection that in both the works. the accidental meeting takes place in a garden. Vāsavadattā, in both, avenges herself by inprisoning Vasantaka. Sāṅkṛtyāyanī takes a major part in appeasing the enraged queen on behalf of the king and her attempts are ultimately successful when the queen consents to the marriage of the king with her rival.

Taking this outline, Śrīharṣa developes it into an interesting love story, supplying many details from his own imagination and changing many to suit the dramatic purposes. The deviations into Śrīharsa's play should also be noted. The heroine's name is changed from Bandhumatī to Priyadarśanā which is perhaps suggested by her pseudonym Mañjulikā in the KSS. The KSS maintains that Gopālaka, Vāsavadattā's brother obtained her in a war but according to Śrīharṣa she is reported to have been brought by Vijayasena, the Commander of Vatsarāja. However, one should remember in this connection that Vijayasena is also a fictitious character of the play. In the earlier work she is given the pseudonym Mañjulikā (Rajanikā according to the BKM) but according to Śrīharṣa she is called Āraṇyikā as she was found in a forest. Sāṅkṛtyāyanī is introduced in the epic as an ascetic come from the parental home of Vāsavadattā. This piece of information is not precisely given in the drama but all the same, it is to be inferred from the fact that she composes a drama on the courtship of Udayana, and also by Vāsavadatta's once referring to Udayana as Sankṛtyāyanī's son-in-law.[1] The most important difference between the two versions is that this romance of Udayana takes place before his marriage with Padmāvatī in the earlier work whereas the drama would lead us to believe that that marriage had already taken place.

With the love story, Śrīharsa has artfully weaved in the political story of Dṛḍhavarman, his defeat at the hands of Kaliṅga and the campaigns of Vatsarāja against Vindhyaketu and the king of Kaliṅga in order perhaps to bring out the

1. Prd, Act III, p. 59.

'dhīra' quality of the hero. This political addition seems entirely imaginary as we find no reference to it anywhere else, not even in the BK recensions. Moreover, the king of the Vindhya regions is mentioned as a friend of Udayana in the BK version of the legend,[1] whereas here he is depicted as Udayana's foe.

Thus it seems quite reasonable to accept, the scholars' contention that Priyadarśanā is only a developed form of Bandhumatī. However, one has got to concede that it is equally probable that instead of modelling his work on the KSS, Śrīharsa utilised the material available in the oral Udayana legend which might have been quite popular in his times. Of course, the material is the same. The discrepancies in Śrīharsa's play make us doubly sure of that. Bandhumatī and Priyadarśanā thus are the names of one and the same person but one cannot help discrediting Śrīharṣa's contention that she was the daughter of the king of Aṅga.

*Ratnāvalī*

The story of the Rtv resembles that of the Prd in many ways. According to it, 'Learning of a prophecy that the king who marries princess Ratnāvalī of Siṃhala will become the sole emperor of the world, Yaugandharāyaṇa resolved that his master should be the fortunate bridegroom to get Ratnāvalī's hand in marriage. But the repeated requests for Ratnāvalī's hand for his master that he made to the king of Ceylon were turned down by the latter as Udayana was already married to Vāsavadattā and the king of Siṃhala who was Vāsavadattā's maternal uncle, did not want to cause any pain to his niece. Undaunted by these obstinate refusals, Yaugandharāyaṇa took recourse to a plan. He caused a rumour to be spread that Vāsavadattā had been burnt in a fire at Lāvāṇaka. With this news he sent the chamberlain Bābhravya to the king of Ceylon.

'The obstacle to his acceptance of the proposal having been thus removed, Ratnāvalī's father promised her hand to Udayana. Along with Bābhravya and Vasubhūti, a minister of her father, she was sent to Kauśmbī on a ship. But unfortunately,

1. BKM, II, G, 2, pp. 50, 58;
KSS, II, Ts. 5–6, p. 40, Sl. 38, T. 6, p. 45, Sl. 10.

a shipwreck separated them although all the three were saved. Ratnāvalī was saved by some merchants who took her to Yaugandnarāyaṇa. The minister recognised her but he wanted Udayana who was devoted to Vāsavadattā, to fall in love with Rātnāvalī. With this end in view, he entrusted her to the care of queen Vāsavadattā under the pseudonym of Sāgarikā but did not disclose her identity. He felt certain that thus she would fall within the range of Udayana's vision and because of her beauty and his amorous temperament, Udayana was bound to take a fancy to her. Thus he paved the way for the fruition of his endeavours. Vasubhūti and Bābhravya meanwhile went and joined Rumaṇvān, the Commander-in-chief of Udayana who had gone on a campaign against the king of Kosala.

'One day when Udayana was enjoying the colourful spectacle of the spring festival with Vasantaka, his bosom friend, two maid-servants of queen Vāsavadattā came to him with a request from the queen that he should witness the worship of the God of Love performed by her. The king complied with her wishes and went to the harem garden where Vāsavadattā met him with Kāñcanamālā and other maids among whom was Sāgarikā. As the queen wanted to prevent the king's noticing Sāgarikā, she sent her away on some pretext. But the latter, as she was keen on witnessing the festival, remained in hiding. Happening to have a look at the handsome king, she took him for the God of Love and worshipped him with flowers. When she realised her mistake, she was glad to know that he was the king of Vatsa to whom she had been betrothed by her father and fell in love with him.

'Love-lorn Sāgarikā was one day soliloquising and painting a portrait of Udayana when she was caught in the act by her friend Susangatā. On being questioned, Sāgarikā tried to beguile her persistent friend by saying that she was painting the God of Love. Susangatā however, was not taken in by these explanations and she wittily painted a portrait of Sāgarikā by the side of the king, retorting to Sāgarikā that she was painting Rati.

'Suddenly, a confusion was created by a monkey's getting loose. As the monkey was heard coming towards the plantain

bower where the two friends were holding their confidential conversation, they got terrified and fled away leaving the painting behind in their hurry. Susangatā also forgot about the bird she had brought with her in a cage. The monkey opened this cage and the bird flew away and began repeating the conversation of the two friends. The king and Vasantaka coming on a stroll nearby, heard this interesting recital and also saw the picture board. The former began to eulogise the beauty of Sāgarikā. His eulogy was heard by the two friends who had come back to take away the painting on remembering it. Susaṅgatā brought about a meeting between the king and her friend which ended abruptly because of the unexpected arrival of Vāsavadattā along with Kāñcanamālā to see whether the king's experiment of 'dohada' on his favourite Navamālikā had proved successful or not. The king asked Vasantaka to hide the pictureboard but through the clumsiness of the latter, the queen came to see it and got highly enraged. The king tried to explain away his conduct and to appease her but all his attempts proved of no avail.

'The king's passion for Sāgarikā became intense and he became very miserable. Vasantaka and Susangatā, however, conspired together and devised a plan to bring about a meeting between the two lovers. Sāgarikā in the guise of the queen, was to meet the king in the Mālatī bower at nightfall. But Kāñcanamālā came to know of the conspiracy as she had managed to overhear the conversation between Vasantaka and Susaṅgatā. Through her, the queen got scent of the conspiracy and attended by Kāñcanamālā, herself went to the picture hall where Vasantaka was to meet Sāgarikā and Susaṅgatā. Vasantaka took them for the two friends and led them both to the Mālatī bower where the king was waiting for his beloved. The king, naturally mistaking the queen for Sāgarikā began to address sweet words of love to her. After a short while, the queen revealed her identity to him which nonplussed him. Falling at her feet, he implored her for mercy but the queen walked away in wrath. At this time, Sāgarikā who had been separated from Susaṅgatā by the orders of the queen, walked through the quadrangle unnoticed in the queen's attire, to an Aśoka tree where she tried to commit suicide by applying a noose

round her neck. On hearing her footsteps, Vasantaka came out of the bower and called out for help. The king hastened to the spot and prevented her from committing suicide, taking her to be the queen. But he soon recognised her as his beloved Sāgarikā and both began to revel in some amorous conversation. Meanwhile the queen felt penitent and came back to the king but on hearing the love talks between Sāgarikā and the king, stood apart and overheard the whole conversation. It made her doubly angry and she surprised the lovers by coming up to them suddenly. The king unsuccessfully tried to beguile her with explanations but could not take her in with them. She had Vasantaka and Sāgarikā bound and took them away with her to put them in confinement.

'Sāgarikā, then, despairing of her life instructed Susaṅgatā to hand over her gem-necklace to Vasantaka. She gave it to him with the information that Sāgarikā was taken to Ujjayinī on the previous day at dead of night.

'The queen had been pacified in the meantime but the thought of Sāgarikā was still troubling the king. Vasantaka passed on to the king the gem-necklace of Sāgarikā and the news about her. The king wore the necklace on his chest for solace. While he was lamenting over the lot of Sāgarikā with Vasantaka, Vijayavarman, the son of Ramaṇvān's sister was announced. He informed the king that the king of Kosala who was staying in the Vindhya fortress, was vanquished and slain by Ramaṇvān in the terrible battle between the rival forces of Kauśāmbī and Kosala and that the latter was returning to Kauśāmbī with his forces after establishing Vijayavarman's elder brother Jayavarman at Kosala. The king received the news with joy and dismissed Vijayavarman. Vāsavadattā and Kāñcanamālā then came to the king and at the queen's recommendation a magician from her home town was allowed to demonstrate his feats to the royal audience. But this show had to stop in the middle by the arrival of Vasubhūti and Bābhravya. After the exchange of the usual greetings, Vasubhūti related the drowning of Ratnāvalī in the ocean. At this juncture, suddenly, a fire broke out in the harem. Vāsavadattā got worried about Sāgarikā who was confined there in chains. At her entreaties, the king willingly ran to the rescue of Sāgarikā and brought her back

safely to the qneen. Vasubhūti recognised her as his master's daughter and the lost princess Ratnāvalī. The queen was very happy to meet her cousin whom she had upto now supposed to have died on a shipwreck.

'The fire now suddenly calmed down and everyone realised that it was an illusion created by the Indrajālika. Yaugandharāyaṇa also was announced then and he resolved the whole chaos by disclosing his part in the conspiracy and his motives for it. The magician had been also procured by him. Vāsavadattā gladly offered the hand of her cousin to her husband to the satisfaction of all concerned.'

It is natural to infer from the above story that it is only a changed version of Udayana's marriage with Padmāvatī. Yangandharāyaṇa had caused a rumour to be spread about Vāsavadatta's death in a fire at Lāvāṇaka to manoeuvre Udayana's marriage with Padmāvatī, both according to the BK recensions and according to Bhāsa and Mātrarāja. But Śrīharṣa's play maintains that it was done in order to get Udayana married to Ratnāvalī, the princess of Simhala because the astrologers had predicted that her husband would command sovereignty over the whole earth.[1]

Now it is more than improbable that for achieving the same purpose, Yaugandharāyaṇa wanted to get Udayana married to two different princesses by using the same device. Evidently, only one of the two characters can be genuine. As apart from Śrīharṣa, no other writer who deals with the Udayana legend mentions Ratnāvalī, one is more inclined to place his faith in the Padmāvatī story. Moreover, Śrīharṣa himself seems to accept the existence of Padmāvatī in his Prd.[2]

It is noteworthy in this connection that other events in the Rtv, are also fabricated to suit the dramatic purposes of Śrīharṣa. We know that Udayana's contemporary king of Kosala was Prasenajit. Śrīherṣa's version of the political relations between the two royal contemporaries and of the ultimate death of Prasenajit at the hands of Udayana's general is not supported by any other authority and, therefore, not accepted by historians also.

1. Rtv, Act IV, pp. 195–196.
2. Prd, Act III, p. 46.

This fact makes one more inclined to believe with the scholars that Ratnāvalī is only Padmāvatī of the BK and Bhāsa in a changed form and that 'the story of the marriage of Padmāvatī with Vatsarāja, described in the BK is the source of the plot of Ratnāvalī.[1]

*Kośalikā*

An extract of Bhavanutacūḍa's lost play, 'Kośalikā', associates Udayana with Kośalikā who was, obviously, the heroine of the play. According to it, the main interest of Udayana in this play was getting Kośalikā.[2] On the basis of this meagre information, it is impossible to surmise any more than that probably the heroine of this play belonged to Kosala and was therefore called Kośalikā. Most probably, she was depicted as the princess of Kosala.

But about the authenticity of Udayana's romance with Kośalikā, no definite conclusion can be hazarded. It might have been fabricated as that of the Rtv and the Prd although the similarity is not absolute because as we have seen above, the heroines of these plays were only the changed forms of two genuine characters in Udayana's life. However, one is inclined to be doubtful about the authenticity of Kośalikā as being a 'Nāṭikā' it should be 'Kḷptavṛttā'. Moreover, Kośalikā is not found mentioned in the earlier works, viz. the BK recensions. At the most, like Priyadarśikā, she was, most probably only a development upon Bandhumatī.

*Manoramā*

The unavailable Manoramāvatsarāja of Bhīmaṭa also deals with the Lāvāṇaka episode. Yet the title leads one to suppose that perhaps the romantic interest of this drama unlike the Svd, was centred around not Vāsavadattā and Padmāvatī but Manoramā. The available extract only depicts Vāsavadattā surviving the fire at Lāvāṇaka.[3] Now, Manoramā was the handmaid of Priyadarśikā who was to put on the character of Udayana in the interdrama in the Prd. But this Manoramā could not be the heroine of Bhīmata's play for in that case the whole ruse of the fire at Lāvāṇaka becomes pointless. It is

1. P. V. Ramanujaswamy : Introduction to Rtv, p. 42.
2. Ndp, p. 30.
3. Ndp, p. 144.

quite probable that the Manoramā of the MVr was depicted as the princess of some influential kingdom so that Udayana's marriage with her would have brought the ousting of Pāñcāla who is also mentioned in the available extract.[1] But the authenticity of her association with Udayana cannot be discussed unless some more substantial information about it is found.

The Sanskrit legend thus ascribes to Udayana, romances with Lalitā, Viracitā (Viracikā), Bandhumatī, Rajanikā, Kaliṅgasenā, Priyadarśikā, Ratnāvalī, Kośalikā and probably Manoramā, apart from those with Vāsavadattā and Padmāvatī. The Prakrit legend links him with Vāsavadattā and Padmāvatī only. According to the Prk, the Nāgamata holds that his first marriage was with Vasudattī, a Nāga maiden.

The Buddhist legend adds some more names to the already long list of Udayana's romances. According to it, Udayana had three chief consorts, viz. Sāmāvatī, Vāsuladattā and Māgandiyā.[2] Vāsavadattā is, thus, common to both the Sanskrit and the Pali legends. But about Sāmāvatī and Māgandiyā, our only informants are the Buddhist literary works.

*Sāmāvatī*

The Dh PA informs us that Sāmāvatī was one of the three chief consorts of king Udena of Kosambī. The Buddhist works abound in information about her as they claim her to be a leading lady disciple of Lord Buddha, but only the Dh PA gives an account of her life prior to her marriage with Udayana. According to it, 'Sāmāvatī was the daughter of Bhaddavatiyaseṭṭhi of Bhaddavatī, who was a friend of Ghositaseṭṭhi of Kosambī although they had never met each other in person. Once, when plague broke out in Bhaddavatī, Sāmāvatī's parents along with her fled from Kosambī where they used to obtain food from the alms-hall of Ghositaseṭṭhi. On the first day, Sāmāvatī, when she went there to fetch meals for all the three of them, asked for three portions; on the second day for two and on the third for one only. For, her father had died after the meal on the first day, and her mother had succumbed to the hardships she had had to suffer on the second day. When on

1. Ndp, p. 144.
2. DhPA, II, i-Udv, p. 203.

the third day she asked for a single portion, Mittakuṭumbika who was in charge of distributing the alms, teased her saying: "Today you know the true capacity of your belly." She asked what he meant by it and when he explained his comment, she told him the nature of the disaster that had befallen her. At this, Mitta pitied her and adopted her as his daughter and thence onwards she made her abode with him.

'One day, Sāmāvatī heard loud and piercing screams in the refectory. She asked her fosterfather to be allowed to bring order into this chaos and had a fence erected round the refectory with separate doors for entrance and exit. The passage allowed only one person to make his way through it. This device of hers, naturally, put an end to the disturbances. Ghosita hearing noise in the refectory as before, got suspicious but on enquiring the reason, found out Sāmāvatī's part in bringing order in the seemingly incurable confusion. When, in the course of his queries he came to realise that she was the daughter of his friend Bhaddavatiyaseṭṭhi he adopted her as his own daughter. Sāmāvatī's original name was Sāmā but after she caused the fence (Vatī) to be built round the refectory, Vatī was added to Sāmā and she was thence onwards called Sāmāvatī.

'One day a certain conjunction of stars occurred in Kosambī which necessitated for everybody to bathe in the river. Even high born women who usually did not go out of their houses, had to do so in order to take the compulsory dip in the river. Therefore Sāmāvatī also, accompanied by five hundred attendants, went to the royal courtyard to take her bath. Udena happended to have a look at her, got enamoured of her instantaneously and asked whose daughter she was. When he was told that she was Ghositaseṭṭhi's daughter, he ordered the latter to send her to him. Ghosita, however, repeatedly refused him on the grounds that this would bring slander on the good name of his daughter. Udena got highly enraged at this refusal and turned Ghosita and his wife out of doors and had their house sealed up. All this took place in Sāmāvatī's absence. When she came back after taking her bath, she could not enter her house. When she came to know the whole story, she made Ghosita send a message to the king

that if he would accept his daughter with her retinue, she would be sent to him. Udena was agreeable to the proposal and brought Sāmāvatī to his palace with all her attendants. He conferred the ceremonial sprinkling on her and elevated her to the dignity of Chief Consort. The rest of her retinue continued to live with her as her ladies-in-waiting."[1]

The Dh PA is again the only authority which gives us the information about Sāmāvatī's conversion to Buddhism. It tells us that 'when Buddha honoured Kosambī with a visit at the request of the three Setthis, Sumana, their gardener and servitor requested his masters to grant him the Lord's meal one day and consequently, the next day's meal was to take place at his house.

'At that time, the king used to allow eight Kahāpaṇas to Sāmāvatī everyday for the flowers. Her maid Khujjuttarā used to buy them from Sumana. That day, she had to wait till the Lord's discourse was over, to take away the remaining flowers. Even while listening to the discourse, she achieved the Sotāpattiphala. As a result, that day she refrained from keeping four of the eight coins for herself like the other days, and bought flowers out of all the eight Kahāpaṇas. Sāmāvatī was, naturally, curious as to why there were twice as many flowers that day. When she came to know that as a result of listening to the Buddha's discourse, her maid had refrained from cheating her that day, she requested Khujjuttarā to repeat the discourse to her. When she alongwith her five hundred attendants had duly listened to it, all of them achieved the Sotāpattiphala. From that day onwards, Khujjuttarā used to repeat to Sāmāvatī and her women the discourses of the Lord which she listened to first, at the houses of the three Setthis.

'These new devotees of the Lord requested their preceptor to let them see the Lord in person in order to worship him. But, she replied that as they belonged to the king's harem, she could not take them outside the royal palace. On their insisting, however, she advised them to open sufficient holes in the outer walls of their apartments which were to be used when the Lord went for his meals to the Seṭṭhi's houses. Accordingly, such

1. Dh PA, ii, i-Udv, pp. 187-191.

holes were opened and utilised by Sāmāvatī and her women for worshipping the Lord."[1]

In this way, Sāmāvatī was converted to Buddhism. She is said to be the foremost among the most eminent laywomen of Lord Buddha's order and the Lord himself calls her 'foremost among those who lived in kindliness.'[2]

The Ud A testifies to the Dh PA evidence that Sāmāvatī was the daughter of Bhaddavatiyaseṭṭhi who was later adopted by Ghositaseṭṭhi and ultimately became the chief consort of king Udena, with a household of five hundred women.[3]

*Sāmāvatī, the name*

We have already dealt with the Dh PA explanation of the name Sāmāvatī. It is noteworthy in this connection that the Dvy calls her Śyāmāvatī. However, as the Dh PA itself attests that her name was only Sāmā at first, it is quite probable that it was Śyāmā which in Pali, got changed into Sāmā. Vatī might have been added to it afterwards on account of her causing a fence to be erected round the refectory as the Dh PA informs us.

*Māgandiyā-Anupamā*

The other chief consort of Udayana to whom the Buddhist works devote a lot of space is queen Māgandiyā(Mākandikā) Unlike Sāmāvatī, she is not found mentioned in the Pali canon. Yet the non-canonical Buddhist literature offers a lot of information about her as she is believed to be a staunch enemy of Lord Buddha and when she found the opportunity, avenged herself on Sāmāvatī who was a devotee of the Lord. Detailed accounts of Māgandiyā's marriage with king Udena are found in the Dh PA and the Dvy. Both the works give similar stories with differences in minor details only.

According to the Dh PA, 'Māgandiyā was the daughter of the Brāhmaṇa Māgandiya of the Kuru country. Her mother was also called Māgandiyā and her uncle's name was Māgandiya like her father's. She was extremely beautiful.[4]

1. Dh PA, Udv, pp. 208–210.
2. AN, i–XIV, p. 26.
3. Ud A, vii–10, p. 382.
4. Dh PA, ii, i–Udv, p. 199.

The Dvy informs us that the name of Mākandika's daughter was Anupamā and his wife was called Sākalī. Mākandika used to reside in Kalmāṣadamya in the Kuru country.[1]

The ANA also confirms the Dvy contention that Māgandiya's village was Kammāsadamma.[2]

According to the Dh PA 'The Buddha one day became aware that both Māgandiya and his wife were ready for conversion so he visited their village. Māgandiyā's hand had been sought by many men of high station but her father had refused them all as he did not consider them worthy of his daughter. When he saw the Lord, he noted the auspicious marks on his body, told him of his daughter and begged him to wait till she could be brought. The Buddha said nothing. The Brāhmaṇa went fast to his home, told his wife that he had found a groom worthy of his daughter and asked her to decorate the girl. With his wife and daughter arranged in all splendour, Māgandiya returned to the place where he had left the Buddha. On arriving, they found that the latter had gone away but his footprint was visible and Māgandiyā, the mother, as she was, skilled in such matters observed that the owner of such a footprint was free from all passion. But her husband did not pay any heed to her words and going a little way further, saw the Lord and offered him his daughter. The Buddha thereupon told them of his past life, his renunciation of the world, his conquest of Māra and the unsuccessful attempts of Māra's very beautiful daughters to tempt and lure him away from the virtuous path. Compared with them, Māgandiyā was, he said, a corpse, filled with thirty-two impurities, an impure vessel painted without; he would not touch her with his foot.'

'At the end of the discourse, Māgandiya and his wife became 'Anāgāmins'. They gave their daughter into the charge of her uncle Cūḷamāgandiya, retired from the world, joined the order and became Arhants.'[3]

The Dvy account of Anupamā's hand being offered to the Lord and his subsequent refusal does not differ from the Dh PA

1. Dvy, XXXVI, p. 515.
2. ANA, i, p. 235.
3. Dh PA, ii, i-Udv, pp. 199-202.

version excepting in one detail. It maintains that Anupamā's parents did not become influenced by the Lord's speech and did not join the order renouncing the world and leaving her in the charge of her uncle, according to the Dvy. In fact no uncle of Anupamā is mentioned in the Dvy.[1]

Both the works agree that Māgandiyā–Anupamā was incensed against the Lord for having called her a vessel of filth.[2]

The Dh PA continues the story thus: 'Māgandiyā's uncle, Cūḷamāgandiya, thinking that his daughter was suitable for only a king and for no lesser being, took her with full decorations on, to Kosambī where he presented her to Udena. The king had a look at her and instantly got deeply enamoured of her. He anointed her his chief queen, giving her a household of five hundred women attendants.[3] According to the Dvy, however, it was her father who took her to Kauśāmbī. There he stayed at a garden. The keepers of the garden went and reported to king Udayana that a woman of singular beauty was staying at the garden who was suitable for him only. The king went to the garden and falling a prey to Anupamā's charms, asked Mākandika to give her daughter to him. The latter agreed to the proposal. Udayana, the king of Vatsas, gave her five hundred attendants and made a daily allowance of five hundred Kārṣāpaṇas to her for flowers and garlands. Mākandika was appointed his chief minister.[4] The UdA also attests that Māgandiyā, a queen of Udena was antagonistic to the Lord for having insulted her.[5]

It would appear that these different accounts do not raise many controversial issues about Māgandiyā-Anupamā's life upto her marriage with Udayana. Her own name most probably was Anupamā but she was more popularly known as Māgandiyā as her father was called Māgandiya. The only debatable issue is about her father and mother joining the order after listening to the Lord's discourse, because it relates to the

1. Dvy, XXXVI, pp. 515–521.
2. Dh PA, Udv, p. 202; Dvy, XXXVI, p. 520.
3. Dh PA, ii, i–Udv, pp. 202–203.
4. Dvy, XXXVI, pp. 528–529.
5. UdA, VII–10, p. 382.

controversy whether it was her own father Māgandiya who took her to Kauśāmbī and got her married to king Udayana or her uncle Cūḷamāgandiya in whose charge she was given by her parents when they renounced the world. According to the Dh PA and the UdA, it was her uncle who stayed with her at Kosambī and helped her in bringing disaster upon Sāmāvatī. The Dvy maintains that it was her father. Visuddhimagga supports the Dvy contention.[1] So it is difficult to decide in favour of either version in the absence of any more authoritative testimony.

*Māgandiyā, the name*

In his note on 'Māgandiya',[2] Mr. D. P. Guha concludes that Māgandiya is equivalent to Mākandika which should mean one born in, living in or belonging to Māgandī-Mākandī. We have already seen that the Dvy attests that Māgandiya is only the Pali form of Mākandika. About the location of Mākandī, Mr. Guha is of the opinion that it was a part of the Pāñcāla country. But he also notes that it was one of the five villages, claimed by Yudhiṣṭhira as the share of the Pāṇḍavas. However, he explains it by saying that either there were more than one Mākandīs or the boundary line of Kuru and Pāñcāla was of a changeable nature so that Mākandī was sometimes a part of Kuru and sometimes of Pāñcāla.

From our point of view, Mr. Guha's second alternative is preferable on the basis of which one can conclude that in the times of the Buddha, Mākandī formed a part of the Kuru country. However, this raises a further problem. As we have already seen, the Dvy maintains that Mākandika was a resident of the village, Kalmāṣadamya in the Kuru country and that the ANA supports this information. Then what are we to make of the very logical argument that Māgandiya means one born in, living in or belonging to Māgandī or Mākandī. However, an explanation can be advanced to solve this problem. Most probably Mākandika Brāhmaṇa was born at Mākandī which gave him the name Mākandika or Māgandiya in Pali. But later on, he must have made his abode at Kalmāṣadamya. The name

1. Vm, XII-35, p. 320.
2. Indian Culture, 1943-44, p. 167.

Māgandiya must naturally have got stuck to his personality, probably more firmly when he began to live at Kalmāṣadamya for this must have singularised him as a name should do.

In fact, that is what the Dh PA would lead us to believe as it informs us that every one in Māgandiyā's family bore the same name which obviously suggests some sort of family-name instead of a first name. The Dvy does not raise any difficulty in accepting this explanation as it simply says that Mākandika used to live at Kalmāṣadamya.

Obviously as her father was popularly known as Māgandiya (Mākandika), Anupamā became popular as Māgandiyā.

*Sāmāvatī and Māgandiyā*

Māgandiyā's illwill towards the virtuous Sāmāvatī went so far as to end in a most deplorable tragedy for both. Most of the authorities which deal with this topic impute her antagonism to Sāmāvatī to her hatred of the Buddha for having called her a 'vessel af filth.' As Sāmāvatī was a devoted follower of the Lord, Māgandiyā naturally avenged her hurt pride on Sāmāvatī when she found out that it was beyond her power to harm the Lord. The Visuddhimagga, however, would have us believe that Māgandiyā's and her father's attempts to bring about the downfall of Sāmāvatī arose out of the latter's desire to get his daughter anointed the chief queen of Udena.[1]

But the UdA[2] and the Dh PA[3] maintain that Māgandiyā wanted to ruin Sāmāvatī because the latter was a firm devotee of the Lord Buddha and Māgandiyā was incensed against the Buddha for he had insulted her.

Both the motives imputed to Māgandiyā for her attempts to bring about the downfall of Sāmāvatī seem understandable. But the contention of Māgandiyā's desire to become the chief queen of Udena herself raises a little controversy. According to the Dh PA, Udena had three chief consorts,–Sāmāvatī, Vāsuladattā and Māgandiyā. All of them were given by him a household of five hundred women. This seems to contradict the Visuddhimagga contention that Sāmāvatī was the only

1. Vm, XII–35, p. 320.
2. UdA, VII–10, p. 382.
3. Dh PA, Udv, pp. 210–211.

chief queen of Udena but it is not inexplicable. As we have reason to believe, Udayana had more than three wives. His romances were numerous and many of them ended successfully. Of all these wives, three viz., Sāmāvatī, Vāsuladattā and Māgandiyā were his chief queens.[1] These three chief censorts might have been given equal facilities as that of five hundred attendants but that need not mean they were equal in rank also. As Sāmāvatī was senior to Māgandiyā she most probably was enjoying some privileges of which Māgandiya could have enough reason to be jealous. This combined with her hatred towards the Lord Buddha and hence towards his devotee Sāmāvatī must have become vehement enough for her to stake everything in order to bring about the downfall of Sāmāvatī.

Accounts of Māgandiyā's various attempts to ruin Sāmāvatī are found in the Dh PA, the Dvy, the UdA and the Visuddhimagga. The Dh PA gives the story in its fullest form. According to it "Māgandiyā was incensed against the Buddha and when he came to Kosambī, she planned her revenge. Sāmāvatī had holes made in the walls of her palace so that she and her friends might see and do obeisance to the Lord when he passed along the street in which her palace stood, to and from his meals. Māgandiyā discovered this during a visit to Sāmāvatī's quarters and because of her hatred for the Buddha, she determined to have Sāmāvatī punished. She told Udena that Sāmāvatī and her friends were conspiring to kill him. When the king would not believe her, she asked him to go and have a look at the holes himself as a proof of her accusations. He went, noticed the holes and asked Sāmāvatī and her friends the reason for it. They told him the truth without getting angry and without upbraiding them for it, he had the holes closed up and the windows built higher.

This plan having miscarried, Māgandiyā hired a slave to abuse the Lord in the streets. Ānanda suggested to Buddha that they should leave Kosambī and go elsewhere. But the Buddha refused, saying, "I am like the elephant who has entered the fray, I must endure the darts that come upon me." After seven days the abuse ceased as the Lord had predicted.

1. Dh PA, Udv, p. 203.

'Māgandiyā then persuaded her uncle to send eight live cocks to the palace and sent a page with them to the king's drinking-place. When the king asked what should be done with them, she suggested that Sāmāvatī and her friends should be asked to cook them for him. This the king agreed to do but the women refused to do the killing. Māgandiyā suggested to the king that they should be tested and sent word by the page that the cocks were to be cooked for Lord Buddha. But secretly, she bribed the page to change the live cocks for dead ones on the way. As there was no killing involved in cooking them now, Sāmāvatī and her companions then cooked them and sent them to the Buddha. Māgandiyā tried to rouse Udena's wrath against Sāmāvatī by pointing out that although the latter would not kill the cocks for him, she was willing to do the killing for the Buddha. But even then the king, though not knowing of the exchange, would not be convinced of Sāmāvatī's disloyalty and resolutely kept silent.

'Māgandiyā then obtained a snake with its fangs removed, through her uncle. This she inserted in a *shell* of the lute which Udena always carried about with him and closed the hole with a bunch of flowers. Udena was in the habit of spending a week in turn with each of his three consorts. When he announced his intention of going to Sāmāvatī's establishment that day, Māgandiyā begged him not to go there, saying she had had an evil dream and feared for his safety. But when the king insisted on going, Māgandiyā went along with him. As he lay asleep with the lute under his pillow she pulled out the bunch of flowers and the snake came out and lay coiled on the king's pillow. Māgandiyā screamed and raised an uproar, accusing Sāmāvatī of designs on the king's life. This time Udena could not help believing her when he held in retrospect all the other insinuations of Māgandiyā against Sāmāvatī. Placing Sāmāvatī and her friends in a line one behind the other, he sent for his bow which could only be strung by one thousand men and shot an arrow at Sāmāvatī's breast. But by the power of her goodness, the arrow failed to pierce her. Instead, reverting its direction, it stopped as if piercing the king's heart. This convinced him of her virtue and he gave her a boon. She chose that the Buddha be invited to visit the palace daily so that she alongwith her friends could listen to

his discourses. The Lord, however, sent Ānanda instead. Sāmāvatī and her friends provided the latter with food everyday and listened to his sermons. One day, they presented him with five hundred robes which had been given to them by the king. The latter, when he came to know of it, was very angry at first but on learning from Ānanda that nothing given to any member of the order was wasted or misappropriated, he donated another five hundred robes himself.

'All her insinuating accusations against Sāmāvatī having come to nothing, once more Māgandiyā decided on a wily plan. On her way to the garden to amuse herself, she sent the following message to her uncle, "Go to Sāmāvatī's palace, open the linen closets and the oil closets, soak pieces of cloth in the jars of oil and wrap these cloths about the pillars. Then assemble all the women within the house, close the door, bar it from without, set fire to the house with torches and then descend and go your way."

'Māgandiya acted in accordance with his niece's message. He was just beginning to wrap the oiled pieces of cloth about the pillars when the women led by Sāmāvatī came up to him and enquired of him as to what he was doing. "My ladies, the king desires these pillars to be strengthened, and has therefore given orders that they be wrapped in cloths soaked in oil. It is hard to understand a king's capricious ways. I beg of you, my ladies, not to remain here with me." As soon as they had departed and entered their rooms at his suggestion, he closed the doors, barred them from without, set fire first to one cloth and then to another and then descended.

'Sāmāvatī bade her women remain calm and at her advice, the women applied themselves to meditation on the element of pain, with the result that some of them attained the Fruit of the Second Path while others attained the Fruit of the Third Path.'[1]

The Dvy also gives a detailed account of Māgandiyā's enmity towards Sāmāvatī and her attempts to bring about the downfall of the latter. It somewhat differs in detail from the Dh PA version of the episode. Firstly as we have seen before,

1. Dh PA, ii, i-Udv, pp. 210–211.

the Dvy maintains that it was Māgandiyā's father who got her married to Udayana and stayed with her at Kauśāmbī. It adds that Udayana appointed him his minister. To the various attempts of Anupamā to ruin Śyāmāvatī, the Dvy adds one more. According to it, 'One day, king Udayana and his two wives were sitting together at some place. The king, suddenly, happended to sneeze. Śyāmāvatī exclaimed : "I bow to the Buddha." Anupamā said, "I bow to the lord." This made Anupamā remark "Mahārāja, Śyāmāvatī feeds herself at your expense but bows to Śramaṇa Gautama." But the king explained to her, "Anupamā, it is not like this. Śyāmāvatī bows to the Buddha for she is his disciple." Anupamā was silenced thus but she did not refrain from plotting against Śyāmāvatī. She instructed one of her attendants to drop a 'Kāṁsikā' on the stairs when the king would be sitting with her and Śyāmāvatī. Accordingly, once, when the king was sitting alone with his two wives, the attendant dropped a 'Kāṁsikā' on the stairs. Śyāmāvatī exclaimed, "I bow to the Buddha." Anupamā bowed to Udayana and again remarked "O Lord, Śyāmāvatı eats at your expense and bows to Śramaṇa Gautama." But instead of getting angry Udayana silenced her by explaining it thus "Anupamā, don't take it otherwise. Śyāmāvatī is the disciple of the Buddha. There is nothing wrong in it."[1]

This episode is not found mentioned anywhere else. But this need not mean that it did not take place. Obviously many episodes of this type were prevalent in the Buddhist version of the legend. When different works recorded these, they recorded them differently. Some overlooked certain details which others noticed and put down in writing. This particular episode might have escaped the attention of the author of the Dh PA whereas the author of the Dvy has recorded it. It must have occurred after Udayana had had the holes in the walls closed. Because it was then only that Udayana came to know that Sāmāvatī was a follower of the Buddha. So, naturally, he could explain to Anupamā that Sāmāvatī's motive in bowing to the Buddha was not an ulterior one.

The Dvy also differs from the Dh PA about other details of the episode. According to the former, 'when Anupamā told

1. Dvy, XXXVI, p. 529.

Udayana that Śyāmāvatī had cooked the two fowls for Lord Buddha, although she had previously refused to kill and cook them for Udayana, the king got enraged and after filling his bow hurried to Śyāmāvatī's apartments. Meanwhile, some woman had already apprised her of the king's wrath. Śyāmāvatī uttered her Upanisad. All her woman also concentrated on it and attained 'Maitrī'. The king shot one arrow at Śyāmāvatī. It fell down half way. Then he shot another. It came back and fell near his feet. He was about to shoot the third when Śyāmāvatī advised him against it. The king enquired of her the reason of her superior powers. She explained that she was an Anāgāminī disciple of the Lord, hence her superior powers. The king was so pleased with her that he asked her to ask for anything she wished. She wanted to listen to the Dharma and asked him to make arrangements for it. He arranged it so that both Śyāmāvatī and Anupamā could listen to the Dharma. Whatever fruits or grains of the season newly came to him, he sent them first to Śyāmāvatī. This made Anupamā jealous. She grudged that the king derived his enjoyments from her but treated Śyāmāvatī much more favourably, presenting to her the first fruits and grains of the new season. So she applied herself to finding out ways and means of killing Śyāmāvatī alongwith all her relations."[1]

This testimony confirms the Visuddhimagga contention that Māgandiyā was jealous of Sāmāvatī. As the former was most probably younger and more beautiful and as Sāmāvatī was of a pious temperament, she could not have suited much Udayana's amorous nature, who therefore might have been devoting most of his time to Anupamā. But as Sāmāvatī was the senior of the two and was of a virtuous nature, he must have respected her much and must, therefore, have been honouring her much more than Anupamā which must have roused the other's jealousy and hatred.

The Visuddhimagga testimony only mentions the serpent episode as it is given to illustrate Sāmāvatī's especial power in warding off the arrow shot at her by Udena. It informs us that it was Māgandiyā's father, Māgandiya who plotted against

1. Dvy, XXXVI, pp. 530–531.

Sāmāvatī and put the serpent in the lute.[1] The consequence is similar to that of the Dh PA. But the story is not continued after the serpent episode. Even the reaction of the king is not given.

The UdA does not give the details of the futile attempts of Māgandiyā to bring about the downfall of Sāmāvatī which came to nothing. But it refers to them in a way which leaves no doubt in one's mind that its author believed in the happening of these various episodes.[2] The UdA[3] and the Dh PA[4] informs us in identical words that Māgandiyā plotted with her uncle to have Sāmāvatī's pavilion burnt when she was going out with Udayana to enjoy the garden frolics. Māgandiya followed her instructions, word for word.

According to the Dvy, 'Udayana had gone away to subdue a revolting Kārvaṭika when Anupamā carried out her plan of revenge on Śyāmāvatī. Before setting out on his mission he had asked both Ghosita and Yaugandharāyaṇa, two of his three ministers to stay and look after the welfare of Śyāmāvatī. Perhaps he was aware of the strife between his two wives and was apprehensive about Śyāmāvatī's safety in his absence. But they insisted on accompanying him. Then he instructed his third minister Mākandika, to look after Śyāmāvatī's welfare and went away.[5]

It becomes certain from these different testimonies that Udayana was out of Kauśāmbī when the pavilion of Sāmāvatī was burnt. But we can not decide whether he had gone away to a faraway place to subdue some revolting 'Kārvaṭika' or he had gone away on a pleasure trip in which Māgandiyā had accompanied him.

The reaction of Udayana to the death of Sāmāvatī through Māgandiyā's manoeuvres is given in detail in the Dh PA and the Dvy. The UdA briefly mentions it. According to the Dh PA, 'on hearing that Sāmāvatī's house was burning, Udayana rushed back to the place of the tragedy but could not reach it

1. Vm, XII-35, p. 320.
2. UdA, VII-10, p. 383.
3. UdA, VII-10, p. 383.
4. Dh PA, ii, i-Udv, p. 220.
5. Dvy, XXXVI, p. 531.

in time. When he reached there, he had the fire extinguished. Then he began to ponder as to who was responsible for the crime. He concluded that it must be Māgandiyā's doing and decided to wring the truth out of her cunningly as she would not admit it otherwise. He exclaimed that he was very happy that Sāmāvatī was dead as she always used to chide him and somebody out of affection, must have killed her for his sake. Māgandiyā was taken in and admitted her share and that of her uncle in the crime. He then asked her to have all her relations assembled as he wished to reward them. Those who came first were honoured by him, then others came, several of whom were not even related to her. The king had all of them imprisoned, had them buried waist deep in the palace-grounds and covered them with straw, the straw was then set fire to and when it was burnt he had their bodies ploughed with an iron plough. Pieces of flesh were ripped from Māgandiyā's body, fried like cakes in oil and she was then forced to eat them.[1]

The UdA very briefly gives the information that Udena cunningly found out Māgandiyā's share in the crime and got so enraged with her that he had her killed alongwith all her relations.[2]

According to the Dvy 'Apriyākhyāyī undertook to report the tragedy of Sāmāvatī's death to Udayana. He had a board prepared on which was painted the scene of the tragedy. Taking it with him he went to Udayana and asked him to fight with death and restore back to him his son. Udayana laughed away his demand saying it was impossible. Then Apriyākhyāyī asked him to read the board. Udayana was shocked and fainting away fell on the ground. When he regained consciousness, he asked his ministers to gather up his army and left for Kauśāmbī. He heard all the details of Sāmāvatī's death from the people of Kauśāmbī. Anger overpowered him. He ordered Yogandharāyaṇa to burn Mākandika and Anupamā by throwing them in the 'Yantragṛha'. Yogandharāyaṇa, however, secretly kept them in an underground celler. On the seventh day, the king's sorrow was exhausted. He asked Yogandharāyaṇa where Anupamā was.

1. Dh PA, ii, i-Udv, pp. 222-224.
2. UdA, VII-10, p. 383.

Yogandharāyaṇa told him she was dead. The king said, "Good, Mākandika killed Śyāmāvatī : you have killed Anupamā with all her family. It behoves me how to renounce the world." Then Yogandharāyaṇa disclosed to him that for this very reason he had not killed Anupamā and had kept her hidden in a celler. Udayana wanted to see her if she was alive. She was brought in and was even then very healthy and good looking. The king thought on seeing her unemaciated : "Surely she has kept an alliance with some man as she could not have maintained her body without food." On being questioned, she said she was innocent. Udayana decided to consult Lord Buddha on the problems that had arisen in his family life and acted accordingly. The Buddha resolved all his doubts and testified Anupamā's claim of innocence.[1]" What was the fate of Anupamā afterwards the Dvy does not tell us.

Of the two versions of the end of Anupamā, that of the Dh PA and the UdA seems more acceptable. The author of the Dvy changed it perhaps because he needed it to illustrate some statement. Doubt about the authenticity of its testimony arises in one's mind because it ends the story abruptly and does not tell us what happened of Anupamā ultimately when the Buddha vouchsafed her innocence. Did Udayana pardon her for murdering Śyāmāvatī and again accepted her as his consort? This seems rather improbable as her share in the crime was well known even to the people of Kauśāmbī. It seems that the author of the Dvy could not continue the fabrication any further and as his purpose had been served, ended the account abruptly.

In this connection, it is noteworthy that Dr. B. C. Law misinterprets the Dvy in a most curious way, saying, "Divyāvadāna, p. 533 relates a somewhat different story according to which it was by Udayana's orders that fire was set to the pavilion of Sāmāvatī in consequence of which the queen perished in the flames with all her attendants."[2] As we have already seen, the Dvy nowhere gives grounds for this suppositions. It clearly states that Udayana was entirely ignorant of the whole plot

1. Dvy, XXXVI, pp. 536–539.
2. K. A. L., p. 16.

and was shocked to hear of the tragedy that had befallen him. Obviously Dr. Law has made a strange mistake in interpreting the Dvy testimony.

This is a detailed account of the relations between the two chief consorts of Udayana, Sāmāvatī and Māgandiyā. The jealousy and antipathy of Māgandiyā against Sāmāvatī thus ended in a most deplorable tragedy for both and for Udayana also. However such intrigues and calamities were not unusual in the harems of polygamous kings.

*Sāmāvatī and Vāsavadattā*

It cannot be denied that Sāmāvātī's death in the fire at the royal palace reminds one of Vāsavadattā's fake death in the fire at Lāvāṇaka. The similarity becomes more significant when the Dvy adds to the other Pali evidence about Udayana being away at the time of this tragic incident, that he had gone away from Kauśāmbī to subdue a rebel vassal. In the opinion of Lacôte, 'The history of the fight between Udayana and Āruṇi in favour of which fire is put to the apartments of the ladies is older than the BK. Guṇāḍhya found it in the cycle of popular legends about Udayana."[1] According to him, "Guṇāḍhya found it difficult to utilise Sāmāvatī in the BK as the latter was of a pious bent of mind and would not have fitted in a romance of love......But in her life he found a dramatic episode which tempted him. Vāsavadattā has inherited it."[2]

It cannot be denied that the similarity is striking. In both the versions, fire is put to the apartments of the poor victim, by a minister. Udayana is away from his palace at the time of the incident; he has gone away to subdue a rebel vassal, if the Dvy testimony is to be believed. He is disconsolate on coming back when he comes to know of the tragedy that has taken place in his harem.[3] He even faints as in the Svd and the Tvr. The marked similarity, therefore, tempts one to identify the Lāvāṇaka episode in Vāsavadattā's life of the Sanskrit tradition with the burning of Sāmāvatī's apartments in the Buddhist tradition. All the same, a coordination between the

1. S. V. B., ( J. A., 1919 ).
2. Essai, p. 271.
3. Dvy, XXXVI, p. 537.

two is difficult to establish at present. The authenticity of Vāsavadattā's existence in Udayana's life is so unshakable, that even the Pali literature records it. In the Pali tradition itself, Sāmāvatī and Vāsavadattā are two distinct individuals in Udayana's romantic life. Now whereas the Sanskrit tradition vigorously upholds the Lāvāṇaka episode, the Buddhist tradition, equally staunchly, is not ready to give way about the burning of Sāmāvatī's pavilion by the wily machinations of a jealous cowife.

*Padmāvatī and Māgandiyā-Anupamā*

Lacôte is more firm about the identification of Padmāvatī of the Sanskrit literature with Māgandiyā of the Pali literature. In his opinion Padmāvatī is only a creation of Guṇāḍhya as she is not mentioned anywhere in the Buddhist legend and that Guṇāḍhya has drawn upon the story of Anupamā and transformed it into that of Padmāvatī.[1]

M. R. Kavi is also of the opinion that 'the terrible characterisation of Padmāvatī as the murderess of Udayana's son in the Abhv was probably borrowed from the Buddhist Jātaka (?) stories where Mākandikā or Anupamā, an envious creature dupes Udayana.'[2]

But here again we are confronted by the same difficulty. The Lāvāṇaka episode and Udayana's subsequent marriage with princess Padmāvatī of Magadha is so firmly rooted in the Sanskrit tradition (and for that matter, the Prakrit one as well although the latter might be deriving its information from the former) that the historians have accepted it without ever questioning it. Therefore, at present, it is only reasonable to accept Vāsavadattā and Sāmāvatī; and Padmāvatī and Māgandiyā; as separate characters and the Lāvāṇaka episode and the burning of Sāmāvatī's pavilion at Kauśāmbī as two distinctly separate incidents in Udayana's life.

*Śrīmatī*

The Dvy mentions one more marriage of Udayana, apart from Sāmāvatī and Anupamā. According to it he married Śrīmatī, the daughter of Ghoṣila, the Gṛhapati. The story

1. Essai, p. 271.
2. P. F. O. C., p. 171.

goes thus: 'To Ghoṣila Gṛhapati was born a very beautiful daughter who was named Śrīmatī. She achieved this noble birth through a good deed she had done in her previous birth. King Udayana saw her once and asked whose daughter she was. He was told that her father was Ghoṣila Grhapati. Then Udayana had Ghosila summoned in his presence and asked him if Śrīmatī was his daughter. Ghosila replied in the affirmative. The king then asked him why did not Ghosila give Śrīmatī to him, she should be given to him. Ghosila was agreeable to the proposal. Thus Śrīmatī was given by her father to king Udayana who made her enter his harem and married her with great pomp and show.

Once Śrīmatī said to the king that she wanted to have a look at the Bhikṣus. When he hesitated to invite the Bhikṣu sangha to the royal palace, she insisted saying "If I can not have a look at the Bhikṣus, from today I will neither eat nor drink," and she went on hungerstrike. The king then was compelled to comply with her wish. He had called Ghosila and asked him to have the Bhikṣus at his house for a meal as Śrīmatī persisted on seeing them. The houses of the king and Ghosila were adjacent and he asked Ghosila to have a door opened in the wall between the two houses. Ghosila did accordingly. Then he went and invited Lord Buddha to have a meal at his house along with the Bhikṣusaṅgha. As the Lord was unable to accept the invitation, Śāriputra led the Bhikṣusaṅgha to Ghosila's house. After the meals, Śrīmatī sat at a lower seat to listen to the sermon of Śāriputra. He preached to her for a long time but she was unable to visualise the truths. The sun set but still the discourse was going on. All the other Bhikṣus went away. At last, having pondered much over the nature of Śrīmatī, Śāriputra preached in such a way that he was able to establish Śrīmatī in the Truths. She accepted the threefold refuge."[1]

On going through the story of Śrīmatī of the Dvy, one is struck by a marked similarity with that of Sāmāvatī of the Dh PA. Śrīmatī's father is Ghoṣila Gṛhapati in the Dvy, Sāmāvatī is the daughter of Ghositaseṭṭhi when Udayana meets her. The marriage of both takes place under the same

1. Dvy, XXXVI, pp. 541–543.

circumstances. Both are desirous of meeting the Buddha. The same means are employed by both Śrīmatī and Sāmāvatī but in the Dvy, it is with the approval of Udayana. These various facts, make Lacôte conclude that 'the personage of Śrīmatī is only a duplicate of that of Śyāmāvatī.'[1] We can safely accept his conclusion specially as the Dvy does not give the account of Śyāmāvatī's life prior to her marriage.

*Gopālamātā*

The Milindapañha informs us that Udayana had another chief consort, known as Gopālamātā who attained this high rank as a result of her good deed of selling her luxuriant hair for eight Kahāpaṇas in order to provide a meal for Thera Mahākaccāna and his seven companions.[2]

But the ANA contradicts it, saying that Gopālamātā became the queen of king Pajjota of Ujjeṇī and not of Udena. A son was born to her whom she named Gopāla after her own father and thereafter she was known as Gopālamātā.[3]

Of the two contradictory evidences, that of the ANA seems more acceptable as it is much more detailed. The Milindapañha only incidentally mentions it without giving any details. Moreover, any son of Udayana, known as Gopāla is not found mentioned anywhere whereas the Sanskrit tradition informs us that Pradyota's elder son was called Gopāla-Gopālaka.[4] Therefore, it seems quite probable that either the Buddhist's sectarian eagerness to claim a devotee in Pradyota's chief queen (Aṅgāravatī of the Sanskrit Prakrit legends) has made them invent the story of Gopālamātā who is only another form of Aṅgāravatī, or the ANA account is the genuine story of Aṅgāravatī's life. It cannot be denied that the Sanskrit version of Aṅgāravatī's maiden life[5] does not ring true as it has much mythology mixed into it.

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1. Essai, p. 202
2. MP p. 291.
3. ANA, I, 118; Malalasekera misinterprets this passage. PPN D, Vol. i, p. 819.
4. BKM, II, G. 2, p. 48. Sl 28,
   KSS, II, T. 3, Sls. 74–75;
   BKŚS, Canto 1, p. 1, Sl. 6.
5. BKM, II, G. 2, pp. 47–48. Sls. 25–28;
   KSS, II, T. 3, Sls. 40–73.

It is obvious, thus, that because of Udayana's long association with Ujjayinī, the Milindapañha has got confused between him and Pradyota.

The Buddhist legend thus associates Udayana with four more women, viz., Sāmāvatī, Māgandiyā, Śrīmatī and Gopālamātā.

Of all these women associated with Udayana by the various legends, Lalitā and Vasudattī seem mere fabrications. The authenticity of Kośalikā and Manoramā also seems doubtful. Priyadarśanā and Ratnāvalī are, most probably, only new developments upon Bandhumatī and Padmāvatī. Śrīmatī seems to be merely a duplicate of Sāmāvatī. Gopālamātā has been associated with him by mistake. But Padmāvatī, Sāmāvatī, Anupamā-Māgandiyā, Viracitā, Bandhumatī and Kalingasenā can safely be accepted as genuine characters in his life. Viracitā was only his harlot and his association with Kalingasenā also was, probably, of a similar nature.

With Bandhumatī, Padmāvatī, Sāmāvatī and Māgandiyā, he must have contracted happy marriages in the usual fashion of polygamous kings. Of these, the last three were probably his chief queens and commanded the same status as that of Vāsavadattā although she seems to be the seniormost of all by virtue of being his first and most beloved wife.

It is more than likely that some other marriages like those with Bandhumatī, Sāmāvatī and Māgandiyā and many more liaisons of the same nature as those with Viracitā and Kalingasenā, took place in the eventful course of his romantic life which have not been found recorded so far. The Dvy[1] also testifies to it that at the time of his marriage with Anupamā, Udayana had many harlots.

1. Dvy, XXXVI, p. 529.

# CHAPTER V

## THE POLITICAL CAREER OF UDAYANA

The important fact that Udayana was a contemporary of Lord Buddha, helps us in drawing a picture of the political India of his times. According to the AN,[1] there were sixteen 'Mahājanapadas' in India in the time of Buddha, viz. (i) Aṅga, (ii) Magadha, (iii) Kāśī, (iv) Kosala, (v) Vajji, (vi) Malla, (vii) Ceti, (viii) Vaṁsa, (ix) Kuru, (x) Pañcāla, (xi) Maccha, (xii) Surasena, (xiii) Assaka, (xiv) Avantī, (xv) Gandhāra and (xvi)Kamboja. Vatsa (Vamsa) figures as one of these. Moreover, we have reasons to believe that it was also one of the four most powerful monarchies in North Buddhist India, the other three being (i) Magadha (ii) Avantī and (iii) Kosala.[2] Thus, it is evident that in the time of Udayana, there was no paramount power in India which was divided into a large number of important states.

### *Accession to the throne of Kauśāmbī*

This was the position when Udayana made his appearance on the political stage of ancient India. We have seen, while dealing with Udayana's early life in Chapter II that his birth took place, neither within his father's palace nor within his knowledge, because Udayana's mother Mṛgāvatī was, unfortunately, seperated from his father, Śatānīka (Parantapa), during her pregnancy.[3] Consequently, Udayana's childhood was spent in some sort of a hermitage[4] and he was deprived of fulfilling any politically important role which would, most probably, have been assigned to him, had he been reared up in the royal palace of his father and had as a result, been an acknowledged crown-prince. His political career, therefore, must have begun only with his awakening to the fact that he was the son and heir of the king of Kauśāmbī. Yet the point as to how he came to be accepted as the son of his father, is not without contro-

1. AN, iv, pp. 252, 256, 260.
2. Dr. R. C. Majumdar : Ancient India, p. 99.
3. Chapter II, Birth, Early Life and Personality, pp. 30-36.
4. Ibid, pp. 74-82.

versy. It is generally believed that Udayana's political career began with his accession to the throne of Kauśāmbī. The Dh PA, however, in diffeiing from the other relevant works on the topic of Udayana's accession to his fathere's throne would have us believe that Udayana's first political achievement was the acquisition of his fathei's sovereignty.[1] Thus, it is clear that about the beginning of Udayana's political career, the Pali legend, stoutly, contradicts the Sanskiit-Prakrit version, the main controversial issue being that whereas the foimer maintains that Udayana came to know of his royal lineage, only after his father's death and then, piocuring a huge aimy, consisting mainly of elephants, went to claim his hereditaiy sovereignty, the latter asserts that it was duiing his father's lifetime and by his father himself that his identity as the ciown-prince was established.[2] At piesent, we have no conclusive testimony which can make us decide in favour of either of these two versions of the legend. We can only conclude on the basis of the information available so for that, in case the Sanskiit-Prakrit version is more authentic, Udayana's claim to the throne of Kauśāmbī, was acknowledged during his fathei's lifetime and his political career began thence. But on the other hand, if the Dh PA account is more reliable, we will have to believe that the first important landmark in Udayana's political career was his acquisition of the sovereignty of Kauśāmbī for he had to struggle his way to his ancestral throne after his father's death and was, unfortunately, deprived of the invaluable help that his father could have rendered him by acknowledging him as his heir. Although, he gathered a huge army for this purpose, he had no occasion, on his way to Kauśāmbī, to put to test, his and his army's strenght. He began the accumulation of his army with elephants and ended with men. This fact makes Prof. Ghosh conclude that "The elephants formed a considerable portion of his army."[3] It grew to such proportions by the time he reached his destination that the citizens of Kauśāmbī mistook it for an army of invasion and closed the gates in the city-wall against the supposed invader. However, as we have already seen, when Udayana asserted his

1. Dh PA, ii, i-Udv., pp. 166–169.
2. Chap. II, Birth, Early Life and Personality, pp. 38-45.
3. E. H. K., p. 19.

royal birth, it was acknowledged on his showing his father's blanket and signet ring and also on his uttering some important names.[1] Thus, the matter ended peacefully.

We do not hear anything about the time between Udayana's accession to the throne of Kauśāmbī and his capture by Pradyota which is probably the most celebrated landmark of Udayana's political career. A considerable time after his accession must have elapsed before he came into eminence as a king. Most probably, during this time, he devoted himself to strengthening his position and improving the condition of his state and people. The necessity for fortifying his position as the ruler of Kauśāmbī must have been increased by the fact that he succeeded to his father's throne in rather strange and unfavourable circumstances. In those days of political upheavals amidst the numerous states vying with each other for power, this must have considerably weakened the stability of Kauśāmbī. Any way, Udayana seems to have fulfilled his mission as a ruler quite successfully, as a little while later, we find Pradyota, the mighty king of Avantī, getting jealous of Udayana's prosperity.

*Udayana and Pradyota Mahāsena*

Udayana's fateful encounter with Pradyota, the mighty king of Avantī has already been dealt with[2]. It is noteworthy in this connection that none of the various authorities which deal with it, denies that at that time there existed a strong and deeprooted enmity between the royal families of Avantī and Kauśāmbī.

In the BKM, Mahāsena refers to Udayana as his 'Nisarga-śatru'—'born enemy'.[3] In the KSS, he admits that 'Udayana always acts against him'[4]

Udayana on his part is wary against any action of Mahāsena lest it vanquishes him. For example, 'when the latter's messenger conveys to him the seemingly innocent message requesting him to come to Ujjayinī and to teach music to Vāsavadattā,

1. Dh PA, v, pp. 166–169.
2. Chap. III, Udayana and Vāsavadattā, pp. 72–101.
3. BKM, II, G. 2, p. 46, Sl. 5.
4. KSS, II, T. 3, Sl. 8.

his suspicions are aroused at once. Yougandharāyaṇa explains to him that the foul motive behind it is to get him subjugated to Mahāsena."[1]

The Pry also affirms that Pradyota and Udayana were rivals and adversaries in the field of politics. 'Before Udayana's capture is reported to him, Pradyota bewails that 'kings become his slaves and carry on their crowns the dust of the roads raised by the hoofs of his horses but he cannot be satisfied until Vatsarāja, who is proud of his proficiency in the science of the elephants, does not bow to him'.[2] He also confides to his wife his regret that his sovereignty and power do not stretch to Udayana's territories.[3] On hearing of Udayana's capture by his forces, he is overjoyed, "Let my forces rest in confort, putting off their armours. From today, the kings can stay easy in their minds and stop sending their messengers in disguise. Today, I am truly Mahāsena."[4]

Later on, he refers to Udayana as his vanquished enemy and in his rapture, allows everyone to have a look at his imprisoned rival.[5]

The KSS, inspite of once informing us that Mahāsena was keen on having Udayana as a son-in-law because the latter only matched her in her exceptional merits, later on contradicts itself and says that he was keen to get Vāsavadattā married to Udayana in order to have the latter always under his control which was not possible otherwise.[6]

This seems most probable too because both the states were equally strong and therefore, none could undertake the vanquishing of the other, e.g., in the BKM, Mahāsena decides that as Udayana has many fortresses, rich treasury, loyal ministers and sharp intelligence, he can only be captured through a stratagem.[7] This information is confirmed by the KSS also.[8]

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1. KSS, II, T. 3, Sls. 20-24.
2. Prv, Act II, p. 47, Sl. 1
3. Pry, Act II, p. 61, Sl. 11.
4. Pry, Act II, p. 57.
5. Pry, Act II, p. 59, Sl. 10.
6. KSS, II, T. 3, Sls. 8-9, 12.
7. BKM, II, G. 2, p. 46.
8. KSS, II, T. 3, Sl. 16.

In the Pry, Yaugandharāyaṇa on learning of Pradyota's stratagem, exclaims that 'it brings to light Pradyota's fear of Udayana and the impotency of his Akṣauhiṇī.'[1]

According to the Dh PA also, Pradyota did not find it possible to capture Udayana in open war because the latter was unequelled in the strength of his elephant force.[2]

The BK recensions, further, assert that in his turn, Udayana also could not subdue Mahāsena because the latter was very powerful.[3] Even when the subjects of Udayana are outraged at his capture, Yaugandharāyaṇa pacifies them by telling them that 'Caṇḍa-mahāsena is so strong that he cannot be subjugated by mere strength.'[4]

Thus it is clear that there existed a permanent feud between the equally powerful kingdoms of Kauśāmbī and Avantī. In fact, Pradyota, probably, had been nursing a grudge against the royal family of Kauśāmbī since long. It was caused by Mṛgāvatī's frustrating him, by her shrewdness, in his amorous inclinations towards her.[5] His jealousy of Udayana's prosperity and splendour must have augmented it.

Unfortunately for him, his attempt to score off Udayana, was foiled by the unforeseen turn of events and by the romantic fancy of his daughter, inspite of his taking all possible precautions against it; and much to his ire and wrath, Udayana was again one point up in a battle of wits between the two.

We have also concluded[6] that Pradyota's ultimate attitude towards the elopement, must have been one of gracious forgiveness and tolerance but that it must have taken some time. In the beginning, it is more likely, that he took the elopement in the light of an insult. But in the gradual course of time, a rational survey of the political advantages to be had from an inviolable permanent truce with Udayana, might have got the upper hand of personal grudges and vanity. Being adjoin-

1. Pry, Act. I, p. 9.
2. DhPA, Udv, p. 192.
3. BKM, II, G 2, p. 47, Sl. 25; KSS, II, T. 3, Sls. 28–30, 81.
4. KSS, II, T. 4, Sl. 36.
5. Chap. II, Birth, Early Life and Personality, pp 45–48; KPP, Pradyotakathā, pp. 230–236.
6. Chap. III, Udayana and Vāsavadattā, pp. 90–96.

ing states, there was always the danger of a feud springing up between the two, at the least provocation. Moreover, Udayana, in Pradyota's own words, always acted against him. He was an ally of the king of Magadha and Pradyota had always been at dagger's drawn with the royal family of Magadha.[1] This important information comes to us from the Vvd.[2] From a conversation between Pradyota and his ministers, we gather that it was because of the king of Pāñcāla's fear of Vatsarāja that the former was following Pradyota. Moreover, he had to buy the alliance of Pradyota. Udayana was, on the other hand, an ally of the king of Magadha. If Udayana was captured by the Āvantika forces, it would lessen considerably Darśaka's strength.

A matrimonial alliance with Udayana would thus have been most advantageous to Pradyota, who would consequently have a permanent friend in Udayana, his son-in-law. But this thought must have come to his mind only when Udayana, got married to princess Padmāvatī of Magadha, as the Svd[3] and BKŚS[4] testimony testify. His approval of the romantic marriage of his daughter with Udayana, and assurance of his goodwill towards Kauśāmbī, would have counterbalanced Udayana's new alliance with Magadha. Otherwise, the combined strength of Magadha and Vatsa, would have been a constant threat to the stability of Avantī. Pradyota's ally, Pāñcāla, had already been vanquished by the allied forces of Darśaka and Udayana.

In this connection, one cannot help debating a statement of Dr.B.C. Law. About Udayana's encounter with Pradyota, he comments, "We are told that envious of the wealth and prosperity of Udayana, Caṇḍa Pradyota laid a trap for the former when he went to the frontier of his kingdom for inspection, and succeeded in seizing him as a captive. Udayana's superior strength in the elephants failed to cope with the swifter Cavalry force of Caṇḍa Pradyota, by which Udayana was charged and

1. Maj, III, p. 7; KPP, Pradyotakathā, p. 76 ff.
2. Vvd, Act I, pp. 7-9.
3. Svd, Act VI, Prelude pp. 117-118, Act VI, pp. 127-128.
4. BKŚS, canto V, p. 74, Sls. 288-296.

worsted"[1]. It has been seen already[2] that Udayana was in a disadvantageous position when he was taken prisoner by Pradyota's forces. All the various authorities, unanimously, agree on this point, as well as in maintaining that no part of Udayana's army was put to test in any battle against Pradyota's Cavalry. Dr. Law's statement, therefore, is, the least to say, not very convincing.

The KSS and the BKM accounts of Udayana's fateful encounter with Pradyota, bring to light, another intersting fact. According to them, Udayana was on very good terms with Pulindaka, the chief of the wild tribes of the Vindhya regions, just beyond Udayana's frontiers. This goodwill of Pulindaka came in handy to Udayana when he escaped from the captivity of Pradyota. Yaugandharāyaṇa, on his way to Ujjayinī to secure the release of his master, had already prepared Pulindaka against the arrival of Udayana.[3]

*Pāñcāla Āruṇi and alliance with Magadha*

The next important event in Udayana's life was the Lāvāṇaka episode and his subsequent marriage with princess Padmāvatī. This matrimonial alliance of Udayana with the royal family of Magadha, has also been fully dealt with before.[4] But the motive of Udayana's ministers, behind bringing about this marriage through the ruse of the burning of Lāvāṇaka, is subject to controversy. However, it has already been decided[5] that is more likely that this marriage was sought to secure the alliance of Darśaka in regaining the lost territories of Vatsa. As it is, all the various authorities agree that Udayana's romantic marriage with Vāsavadattā, had a demoralising effect on him, who thence-onwards stopped paying any attention to his duties as head of an important state.[6] In those days of political instability, this must have made Kauśāmbī an easy prey for

1. K. A. L., pp. 14–15.
2. Chap. III, Udayana and Vāsavadattā, pp. 73–84.
3. BKM, II, G. 2, p 50, Sls. 62–63; KSS, ii, T. 4, Sls. 43–46, T. 5, Sls. 40–41.
4. Chap. III, Udayana and Vāsavadattā, pp. 101–126.
5. Ibid., pp. 163–175.
6. Chap. II, pp. 66–67; BKM, III, p. 68, Sls. 2, 4–6; KSS, III, T. 1, Sls. 3–8; Tvr, Prelude to Act I, pp. 2–3, Sls. 1–2, Act I, pp. 6–7; Sls. 5, 7, 9.

enterprising rival kings. Āruṇi, most probably, took advantage of this and snatched away from Udayana's lax hands, a considerably major portion of the Vatsa territories, if not the capital, Kauśāmbī itself. The aforementioned conversation in the Vvd,[1] informs us that there was a constant rivalry between Udayana and Āruṇi. Pradyota and his ministers were aware of the fact that Pāñcāla would take advantage of the capture of Udayana and would establish himself at Kauśāmbī.

The Prk also mentions Pāñcāla's appropriation of Kauśāmbī and says that 'with war and conspiracy, Udayana recaptured his lost kingdom.'[2]

According to an extract from the now unavailable Manoramāvatsarāja ; Rumaṇvān, in order to overthrow Pāñcāla, pretended to be a servant of Pāñcāla, and to secure the confidence of the latter, set fire to Lāvāṇaka. But in reality, he was acting in the interests of Udayana, and Yaugandharāyaṇa knew of it[3]

Although the Pali literature does not mention the usurpation of Kauśāmbī by Pāñcāla, there is one incident, dealt with in the Dvy, that remind one of Udayana's fight with Pāñcāla. According to it, "Once, one of Udayana's vassals revolted against him. To subdue him, one army was sent against him; it met with defeat. Similar was the fate of the second and the third forces sent against him. The ministers said that the strength of the king was diminishing, that of his vassal was increasing. If the king, himself, would not lead a force against him, it was likely that the vassal would become indomitable. The toscin began to sound in Kauśāmbī, "Everyone with the profession of bearing arms in my kingdom, should follow me." Udayana, then, asked Yaugandharāyaṇa to stay behind at Kauśāmbī but the latter would not agree to it. of his other two ministers, Ghosila, also, refused to stay behind. Only Mākandika agreed to it. Then, Udayana set on the campaign.

'In the meanwhile, Sāmāvatī's pavilion was burnt through the wily machinations of Māgandiyā. Apriyākhyāyī, who was

1. Vvd, Act I, pp. 8–9.
2. Prk, 19 Vrdpr, p. 88.
3. Ndp, p. 144.

in the king's service, took the responsibility of conveying the unpleasant tidings to Udayana. Leading the king's fourfold army, he went and established himself at a certain place. Thence he sent a message to Udayana that he was the king of that place and his son had been carried away by death. So he was going to launch a campaign against death in which Udayana should support him. Otherwise, he would bring back his son, giving to death in exchange five hundred elephants, an equal number of she-elephants, horses, mares, lads and lasses and one lakh of gold coins. At that time, Udayana was unable to subdue his rebel vassal. So he replied that if the other king would help Udayana, in subduing his rebel vassal, the latter in his turn would support him. On receiving this message, the forke king went and established himself at some place near the vassal who was alarmed. He thought to himself that only one king was enough to chase him all over the country, here was another to take the life out of him. Therefore, he went and asked for Udayana's pardon. The latter made him his residuary. Later on, Udayana came to know of Apriyākhyāyī's true identity that he was no king but his own servant."[1]

It is very likely that this Dvy story, represents the Buddhist version of Udayana's encounter with Pāñcāla. Here too, Udayana finds it difficult to subdue his rebel vassal and his ministers are conscious that the king himself should lead the army against him. Again, Udayana had to rally all his forces against the rebel vassal but still found it difficult to bring the latter under his control. In the long run, it is the added strength of another king ( although here he is only a pretender ) which brings about the vanqushing of the stubborn rebel. Lacôte is also of the opinion that it is only another version of the story of Āruṇi.[2]

We have also seen[3] how improbable it seems that without Udayana's knowledge, Darśaka with his Māgadha army and Gopāla and Pālaka, leading the Āvantika forces allied with Rumaṇvān, and the combined three forces ousted the usurper

1. Dvy, XXXVI, pp. 531–536.
2. S. V. B., (J. A. 1919 ), Essai, p. 271.
3. Chapter III, Udayana and Vāsavadattā, pp. 125–127.

Āruṇi from Kauśāmbī. The Svd version that Udayana with the assistance of Darśaka's army, vanquished Āruṇi, seems more reliable.

*The 'digvijaya' of Udayana*

It has been seen already[1] that according to the KSS and the BKM, the motive of Udayana's ministers behind getting him married to princess Padmāvatī of Magadha, was to accomplish a 'digvijaya' on the part of their king. Because it was always the king of Magadha who opposed them and his goodwill was necessary for the success of the 'digvijaya' campaign. The Kashmirian BK tradition maintains that during the marriage rites at Magadha, Yaugandharāyaṇa made the king of Magadha promise that he would not impede Udayana's 'digvijaya' in the Eastern direction.[2]

According to both the BKM and the KSS, 'soon after his marriage with Padmāvatī, Udayana came in possession of the throne and treasure of Yudhiṣṭhira, his noble ancestor. But it was thought fit by his ministers and himself that before seating himself on his ancestral throne, he should qualify himself for it by accomplishing his 'digvijaya' in the noble tradition of his ancestor. For this purpose, Udayana with his wives, kept fast and worshipped Lord Śiva. As a result, the deity was pleased and assured Udayana of the success of his campaign.

'Then Udayana invited his brothers-in-law, Gopālaka and Siṃhavarman who came to his assistance with their forces. After duly honouring them, he appointed Gopālaka the 'balādhika' in Vaideha ( Vidiśā in the BKM ) and Siṃhavarman in 'Cedi'. Then, with his forces he set out to conquer Brahmadatta, the king of Vārāṇasī. Yogakaraṇḍaka, the minister of Brahmadatta, resorted to various tricks to defeat Udayana but these were forestalled by Yaugandharāyaṇa and the vanquishing of Brahmadatta was eventually achieved."[3]

The BKM stops here the story of Udayana's 'digvijaya' saying that after the subjugation of the king of Kāśī was achieved,

1. Chap. III, pp. 101-103, 113-120; BKM, III, pp. 68-69, Sls. 3-15; KSS, III, T. 1, Sl. 5-27.
2. BKM, III, p. 76, Sls. 95-97; KSS, III, T. 2, Sls. 82-84, 112-113.
3. BKM, III, pp. 82-93; KSS III, T. 4, p. 61, T. 5, pp 70-73.

Udayana was honoured by both the kings of Magadha and Avantī and all the other heads of states also acknowledged his supremacy.[1]

But the KSS continues the account, adding that 'After subduing Brahmadatta, Udayana proceeded further in the Eastern direction and conquered Vaṅga and Kalinga. Then he directed his forces in the Southern direction and vanquished Cola and Mālava. Crossing the Revā, he entered Ujjayinī where he was honoured by Mahāsena. Here the latter's forces were also allied to his and thus strengthened, he set forth in the Western direction and conquered Lāṭa. In the north, he defeated 'Sindhurāja' and beheaded the king of the Pārasikas. Having subdued the Hūṇas and the Mlecchas, he forced the king of Kāmarūpa to accept his subordination. Having brought under his control the whole of the world, he went to Magadha where the king of Magadha also, honoured him. Thus, accomplishing his 'digvijaya', he went back to his own state.'[2]

The question now arise whether to accept the Kashmirian BK account of Udayana's 'digvijaya' or not. As it is, a clear picture of the political India of Udayana's times is given by the Pali works. Of the contemporary fifteen states, Udayana is said to have been on very good terms with the mightiest two, viz., Magadha and Avantī. Of the rest, Kāśī and Cedi, are accounted for in his 'digvijaya' campaign. Pāñcāla, one can grant to have been subdued before, on the strength of the testimony of the Svd and the Tvr, although it is noteworthy here, that the BKM and the KSS do not mention Udayana's encounter with Pāñcāla. Even after including Pāñcāla in the list supplied by the KSS, the remaining ten states, viz., Aṅga, Kosala, Vṛjji, Malla, Kuru, Matsya, Śūrasena, Aśmaka, Gandhāra and Kamboja are not accounted for by this work. Instead of them, some other states are mentioned to have been subdued by Udayana. These are Vaideha ( Vidiśā in the BKM ), Vanga, Kalinga, Cola, Lāṭa, Sindhu and Kāmarūpa. He is also said to have vanquished the Hūṇas and the Pārasikapati. It is a well known historical fact that the Hūṇas came

1. BKM, III, pp. 93–94, Sls. 311–316.

2. KSS, III, T. 5, Sls, 89–118, T. 6, Sls. 1–5, 218–229.

to India in the time of the Guptas.[1] Therefore, the picture of the political India of Udayana's times as given by the KSS, does not appear very faithful to the original. It is the India of a much later date than that of Lord Buddha.

It is also noteworthy that the BKM does not mention any of the conquests mentioned by the KSS excepting those of Cedi, Vidiśā ( Vaideha in the KSS ) and Kāśī. It would have us believe that Udayana's 'digvijaya' was completed by subduing the king of Kāśī.[2]

It also seems rather improbable that two such ambitious, powerful and jealous heads of states as those of Magadha and Avantī helped Udayana to achieve 'digvijaya' with the help of their armies but did not aspire for such an end themselves.

In those days of political upheavals amidst the numerous states it was difficult for any king to subdue all the others. Even such powerful kings as Pradyota and Ajātaśatru did not undertake such a campaign. The easy 'digvijaya' campaign that the KSS credits Udayana with, seems rather artificial therefore. Of course, he might have been involved in quite a few battles with his contemporary heads of states and might also, have come out successful in some of them but that he brought the whole of India under his control, seems rather a fabrication. His encounter with the king of Kāśī, given as it is with details, could well have been genuine. The land of Pāñcāla, consisted of the territory comprised between the Gangā and the Yamunā and also bordered on that of Vatsa. The usurper Āruṇi in his march towards Kauśāmbī, had probably encroached upon the land of Kāśī which separated Kauśāmbī from Magadha in the valley of the Ganges in the northwest of Rājagrha. It was this direction which Darśaka in the Svd, pointed out to Udayana who had, in fact, to cross the Ganges for meeting Āruṇi.[3] Now in the Kashmirian BK account of Udayana's encounter with the king of Kāśī, is a deformed trace of his encounter with Āruṇi. According to it, the king of Kāśī was the first opponent that Udayana had to subdue after his

1. Dr.R.C. Majumdar; Ancient India, p. 49.
2. BKM, III, pp. 93-94, Sls. 300-318.
3. Svd, Act V, p 115, Sl. 12.

marriage with Padmāvatī."[1] The Kashmirian BK tradition calls the king of Kāśī by the name of Brahmadatta–but who does not know that Brahmadatta, in ancient literary works, had become the generic name of the kings of Kāśī ? This should not prevent the identification of the dangerous neighbour of Udayana with the 'Pāñcāla Āruṇi' of the plays. It is probable that the BKM stops by telling of Udayana's encounter with the king of Kāśī because it is the only genuine one of the numerous victoıies ascribed to Udayana by the KSS.

*Śrīharṣa's account*

Rtv and Prd the two plays of Śrīharṣa, with themes of the politico-amorous type supply us with some more data about Udayana's political career. In the Rtv Udayana sends an army under the generalship of Rumaṇvān, to vanquish the king of Kosala who is ultimately defeated and killed in the ensuing battle. According to the Prd, while Udayana was in the captivity of Pradyota, the king of Kaliṅga attacked Dṛḍhavarman, the king of Aṅga who was the maternal uncle of Vāsavadattā, and defeated and imprisoned him. Vindhyaketu, the king of the Vindhya regions and also an ally of Dṛḍhavarman, was attacked and vanquished when Udayana came back to his throne, by Udayana's forces which were led by Vijayasena. When Vijayasena came to report his success to the king, he was again sent to subdue the king of Kaliṅga. The seıge oi Kalinga lasted about a year, but ultimately the king of Kalinga was conquered and slain and Dṛḍhavarman was reinstated on the throne of Anga.

The story of the Rtv, as has been concluded already,[2] is only another form of Udayana's marriage with Padmāvatī. Naturally, it is difficult to be not a little sceptical in accepting the historical data offered by it. We know that the king of Kosala in Udayana's time was Prasenajit who was one of the four most powerful kings of his time.[3] That such a strong king was defeated and slain by Udayana's general, seems hardly credible, especially in view of the strange fact that it has not been recorded by the Buddhist literature, which otherwise,

1. 'S.V.B.' ( J.A., 1919 ).
2. Chap. IV, Udayana and his other romances, pp. 158–159.
3. Dr. R.C. Majumdar : Ancient India, pp. 99–100.

devotes quite some space to Prasenajit as one of the four most eminent royal contemporaries of the Lord. Even the other relevant Sanskrit works do not support Śrīharṣa's version. It has not been, therefore, accepted by the historians.

However, it is quite probable that one or two minor clashes between Udayana and Prasenajit took place but they could not have been very significant. That Udayana's forces vanquished and killed Prasenajit seems only a fabrication on Śrīharṣa's part.

Similar is the case of the Prd. It is noteworthy that its source is the small incident of Udayana's marriage with Bandhumatī in the KSS.[1] Consequently, it is natural to infer that the story of the Prd is probably only a fictitious one in details and historical settings. All the same, it is not improbable that the developed and embellished legend in the time of Śrīharṣa, credited Udayana with the conquest of Kaliṅga. Śrīharṣa could easily have taken the scanty romantic material from the KSS and might have woven into it Udayana's conquest of Kaliṅga, developing it into a drama of the politico-amorous type. In the absence of any more conclusive authority, one is forced to reserve the judgement as to whether Śrīharṣa's evidence about Udayana's encounter with the king of Kalinga and the ultimate vanquishing of the latter at his hands is authentic or not. But, it is to be remembered in this connection that about Udayana's enmity with Vindhyaketu, the king of the Vindhya regions, the Kashmirian BK tradition contradicts Śrīharṣa.[2] Here again, it is difficult to choose the authentic version from the two contradictory versions.

### *Bodhi and Bhagga*

According to some references in the Pali literature, Prince Bodhi, the son of king Udena, had a beautiful palace built at Suṃsumāragiri in Bhagga.[3] On the strength of this data, scholars have concluded that in Udayana's times, Bhagga was a

1. Chap. IV, Udayana and his other romances, pp. 152–153.
2. BKM, II, G. 2, p. 50, Sls. 62–63;
   KSS, II, T. 4, Sls. 43–46, T. 5, Sls. 40–41.
3. Maj, II, 85; Vin. II, 127; Dhāj, J. III, p. 157, No. 353.

dependancy of Vatsa and prince Bodhi ruled there in the capacity of his father's viceroy.[1]

The Harivaṃśa informs us that Vatsa and Bhṛgu were two sons of Pratardana of Kāśī.[2] Of these two, Vatsa is credited with the foundation of Vatsabhūmi and Bhṛgu with that of Bhṛgubhūmi. Their descendents, the Vatsas and the Bhārgavas were thus, neighbouring ruling clans. It is likely that in the times of Udayana, the territory of the Bhaggas (Bhārgavas) became a dependancy of the Vatsa kingdom, governed by a viceroy of the royal family of Kauśāmbī. Its capital was most prodably Sumsumāragiri. The site of Bhagga has not been finally located as yet. Rāhula Sāṅkṛtyāna proposes to identify it with the present Mirzapur district and its capital Suṃsumāragiri with the Chunar hills.[3]

*Udayana's ministers*

Most of the information about Udayana's ministers comes to us from the Sanskrit literature. All the Sanskrit works generally associate him with three ministers, viz., Yaugandharāyaṇa, Rumaṇvān and Vasantaka. We have already decided that the Sk P version that Yaugandharāyaṇa, Rumaṇvān and Vasantaka were the ministers of Udayana's father and renounced this life immediately after Udayana's installation on the throne of Kauśāmbī, seems hardly credible.[4]

Another minister, that the Sanskrit tradition associates Udayana with, is Ṛṣabha. He is found mentioned only in the BKŚS and there too only once.[5] Otherwise, this work agrees with the other Sanskrit works about Udayana's three generally accepted ministers.

The Buddhist tradition also associates Udayana with three ministers, but two of them are different from those mentioned by the Sanskrit tradition. According to the Dvy, Udayana's three chief ministers were Yogandharāyaṇa, Ghoṣila and Mākandika.[6]

1. Dr. B. C. Law : K. A. L., p. 11; Prof. N. N. Ghosh : E. H. K., p. 19.
2. Harivaṁśa, 29. 80–83, p. 49.
3. Buddhacaryā, pp. 55, 175.
4. Chap. II, Birth, Early Life and Personality, pp. 51–53.
5. BKŚS, canto IV, p. 36, Sls. 19–20.
6. Dvy, XXXVI, p. 529.

The Pv A states that at the time of the first great council, one of Udayana's ministers died and his son Uttara was appointed in his place by Udayana.[1]

The Prakrit legend does not concern itself much with Udayana's ministers. However, Yaugandharāyaṇa retains his identity even here.[2] Vasantaka also is mentioned in his capacity of Udayana's friend.[3]

Thus we see that all the different legends associate Udayana with six ministers in all, viz., Yaugandharāyaṇa, Rumaṇvān, Vasantaka, Ṛsabha, Ghoṣila and Mākandika, apart from the father of Uttara about whom we do not know anything at all at present. We shall now take each one of them separately,

*Yaugandharāyaṇa*

On comparing all the different evidences we notice that Yaugandharāyaṇa is the one minister who is common to all the three streams of the legend. According to the Kashmirian BK tradition his father had been in the service of Udayana's father and grandfather.[4] The Sk P adds to this information that Yaugandharāyaṇa's real name was Mālyavān.[5] The BKŚS informs us that alongwith Udayana, he also practised austerities to obtain a son and that his son Marubhūtika was born a few days later than Naravāhanadatta.[6] Nothing more is known about Yaugandharāyaṇa's family life.

In all the works that deal with the Udayanakathā, Yaugandharāyaṇa is depicted as a loyal and astute minister who is always planning to farther his master's interests. He is the brain behind the government of Kauśāmbī. The interests of the state are always uppermost in his mind. To preserve and advance the dignity of Kauśāmbī, he is even ready to sacrifice the personal happiness of the king as in the Lāvāṇaka episode. He is also a shrewd diplomat, always planning cautiously and acting resolutely. Through his diplomatic manoeuvres, he brings about the two important marriages of Udayana into the

1. Pv A, II. 10, pp. 140–141.
2. KPP, Pradyotakathā, p. 81.
3. Ibid., Pradyotakathā, p. 81.
4. BKM, II G. 1, pp. 34–45, G. 2, pp. 45–46.
5. Sk P, III, 1, 5, Sl. 73.
6. BKŚS, canto VI, pp. 79–80, Sls. 4, 10.

influential royal families of Avantī and Magadha which were so necessary for stabilising the political independence of Kauśāmbī. Even in the absence of his master when he is captured by Pradyota, Yaugandharāyaṇa does not lose his presence of mind and taking matters in his hands, orders the other ministers with that purpose in view. In the long run, he successfully outwits Pradyota at his own game of tricks. Udayana himself pays high tributes to Yaugandharāyaṇa in his gratitude.[1]

It is particularly creditable for Yaugandharāyaṇa that unlike other servants, he takes his own initiative even at the risk of displeasing his master. This becomes clear when we find him scheming for the separation of the king from his beloved Vāsavadattā, in the interests of the state. In the Dvy also, he acts contrary to his master's specific order, foreseeing the future outcome of it and acting in accordance with it.[2]

In fact, it is not an exaggeration to conclude that throughout the long spans of time and space that the popular Udayana legend has covered, Yaugandharāyaṇa has been as inseparable from Udayana as Vāsavadattā. Śūdraka's allusion to him proves that in Sanskrit literature, Yaugandharāyaṇa set the norm of what a devoted servant should do for his master.[3]

*Rumaṇvān*

Rumaṇvān, Udayana's minister of war and also his Commander-in-chief is mentioned by all the Sanskrit authorities but the Pali and the Prakrit legends are silent about him.

According to the Kashmirian BK tradition, like Yaugandharāyaṇa's, his father Supratīpa, Supratīka or Vipratīka had also been in the service of Udayana's father and grandfather.[4] The Sk P informs us that his real name was Puṣpadanta.[5] The BKŚS maintains that by the deity's boon, his son Hariśikha was also born at almost the same time as Naravāhanadatta.[6]

Rumaṇvān is uniformly depicted as an expert warrior and a capable general of the Vatsa armies. He devoutly worked

1. BKM, III, p. 83, Sl. 76; Svd, Act VI, Sl. 18.
2. Dvy, XXXVI, p. 537.
3. Mṛcchakaṭikam, Act IV, p. 124, Sl. 26.
4. BKM, II, G. 1, pp. 34–45, G. 2, pp. 45–46.
5. Sk P, III, 1, 5, Sl. 74.
6. BKŚS, canto VI, pp. 79–80, Sls. 4, 9.

along the lines shown to him by Yaugandharāyaṇa. If Yaugandharāyaṇa was the brain behind the government of Vatsa, Rumaṇvān was its very capable pair of hands which translated the ideas of the brain into reality. All Yaugandharāyaṇa's schemes would have failed without Rumaṇvān's active support.

It is surprising that Mr. Kavi has been misled by the available extract of the Mvr to conclude that in this play, Rumaṇvān has been depicted as a traitor.[1] It is clear from the extract under discussion that Rumaṇvān was only pretending to serve Pāñcāla's interests and that too at Yaugandharāyaṇa's advice who knew it well.[2]

*Vasantaka*

Vasantaka was the son of Vallabha who was a close friend of Udayana's father.[3] According to the Sk P, Vasantaka's real name was Balotkata.[4] His son Tapantaka was of the same age as Naravāhanadatta.[5]

Vasantaka is only found mentioned in the Sanskrit works and once in the KPP.[6] He is not uniformly depicted as a clever minister of Udayana. In Śrīharṣa's plays and in Bhāsa's Svd, he plays the role of Udayana's jester friend. But in the Pry of Bhāsa and the BK recensions, he actually shines as a clever accomplice of Yaugandharāyaṇa.

The most likable trait in his character, however, is his love for Udayana. He is always faithful to his friend and tries to help him in his numerous affairs of heart as a '*narma-saciva*' should do.

*Ṛṣabha*

Ṛṣabha is only found mentioned in the BKŚS once as one of Udayana's four ministers.[7] Gomukha, his son like the other ministers' sons was a companion of Naravāhanadatta as well as his confidant and adviser.[8]

1. P F. O. C, Tvr by M. R. Kavi, p. 172.
2. Ndp, p. 144.
3. BKM, II, G. 1, pp. 34–45, G. 2, pp. 45–46.
4. Sk P, III, 1, 5, Sl. 75.
5. BKŚS, canto VI, pp. 79–80, Sls. 4, 12.
6. KPP, Pradyotakathā, p. 81.
7. BKŚS, canto IV, p. 36, Sls. 19–20.
8. BKŚS, canto IV, pp. 79–80, Sls. 4, 11.

*Ghoṣila*

The Dvy claims Ghoṣila to be one of Udayana's three ministers. His name is totally absent in the Sanskrit and the Prakrit legends. He can, probably, be identified with the Ghositaseṭṭhi of the Pali works which credit him with the building of the Ghositārāma at Kosambī.[1] The Dh PA narrates how king Udena was pleased with him to appoint him the chief banker in his father's place.[2] It is quite likely that, later, still more pleased with him, Udayana appointed him his minister for finance.

*Mākandika*

According to the Dvy, Mākandika was appointed a minister by Udayana when his daughter got married to the latter.[3] But the Dh PA differs to maintain that it was Cūlamāgandiya, the uncle of Māgandiyā who stayed with her and it also does not say that he was made a minister by Udayana.[4] However, both the authorities agree that he, in conspiracy with Māgandiyā, brought about the death of Sāmāvatī.

The Dvy informs us that when Udayana came to know of it, he ordered Yaugandharāyaṇa to throw Mākandika and Anupamā in the torture cell and to burn them.[5] Anupamā is said to have been saved by Yaugandharāyaṇa. But Mākandika is no more heard of. It probably, signifies his down fall.

*Uttara*

The Pv A informs us that at the time of the first great council of the Buddhists, Uttara was appointed a minister in his father's place by king Udena. He is not found mentioned anywhere else.

This is all the information available about Udayana's ministers in ancient Indian literature.

*Deb's theory*

H.K. Deb has advanced a very interesting and controversial theory concerning Udayana's political career. He maintains

1. Dh PA, ii, i–Udv; p. 208.
2. Dh PA, ii, i–Udv, p. 185
3. Dvy, XXXVI, pp. 529, 531.
4. Dh PA, ii, i–Udv, pp. 202–203.
5. Dvy, XXXVI, p. 537.
6. ᴀ VA, ii, 10, pp. 140–141.

that, "In India, about 500 B.C., Darśaka of Magadha was deposed and Pālaka of Avantī killed in a popular rising, and both Magadha and Avantī submitted to Udayana of Vatsa. After Udayana's death, his empire became a federation amongst his sons and it lasted till 412 B.C. when Mahāpadma crowned himself the sole monarch.."[1]

Deb has tried to identify Udayana with Udayabhadra, the successor of Ajātaśatru who is called Udāyin in the Purāṇic genealogy. He also thinks that Udayana must also be the same as the Kālāśoka of the Burmese Buddhist tradition who is credited with the shifting of the Magadha capital from Rājagṛha to Pātaliputra, and under whose patronage, the second great Buddhist council was held at Vaiśālī.[2]

But the arguments that Mr. Deb advances to support his theory, do not appear convincing enough because of certain generally accepted facts. Udayabhadra is believed to be the son of Ajātaśatru on the strength of the evidence of both the Jain and Buddhist traditions.[3] Kālāśoka is as clearly said to be the son of Śiśunāga.[4] Dr. Majumdar, thus, places four kings between Udayabhadra and Kālāśoka. Their identification with Udayana seems, therefore, rather far-fetched. Moreover, Udayana was a contemporary of Ajātaśatru.[5] Even accepting that Padmāvatī was Ajātaśatru's daughter and consequently Udayana who married her was considerably younger than Ajātaśatru, his father-in-law, it is noteworthy that there is a difference of about one hundred years between Udayana and Kālāśoka as the second Māhāsaṅgīti took place a hundred years after the first which was convened while Udayana was alive.[6] Thus there is a clear long gap of about one hundred years between Udayana and Kālāśoka and their identification is debatable. Deb refutes these objections maintaining that Udayana was not a contemporary of Lord Buddha. His grounds for rejecting the popular belief are that there is no indication

1. H. K. Deb : India and the Persian empire ii ( J. A. S. B., 1933 ).
2. Dr. R. C. Majumdar : The Age of Imperial Unity, p. 30.
3. Ibid., p. 29.
4. Ibid., p. 30.
5. Chap. I, Age and Genealogy, pp. 16–17.
6. Pv A, ii, 10, pp. 140–141.

in Pali canonical literature that Udayana was a contemporary of Lord Buddha. He also rejects the Pali evidence of Bodhi's meeting with Lord Buddha, saying that the Jātaka story (evidently the Dhs J ) was written several centuries after the Buddha and that Bodhi was a prince of the Bhagga country. But Deb seems to forget to take account the canonical references to Udayana as a contemporary of the great master as well as of the Sanskrit and Prakrit data on this point.[1] The most authoritative of these is the Vin evidence that Udayana offered five hundred robes to Ānanda almost immediately after the death of the Buddha.[2] Deb does not mention also the Maj reference to Bodhi's meeting Lord Buddha.[3] As for his contention that Bodhi was a prince of Bhagga, it has already been seen above that this, in no way, denotes Bodhi's belonging to the royal family of Bhaggas when it is clearly said that he was the son of king Udena.[4]. It can reasonably be inferred that Bodhi was acting as a viceroy of his father in the province of Bhagga.

Therefore, Deb's theory that "Possibly, therefore, both Darśaka of Magadha and Pālaka of Avantī were unpopular monarchs and Udayana had the people on his side when he essayed to become the political head of a great state, stretching from the Bay of Bengal to the Arabian sea"[5] seems hardly credible especially when it is not supported by other scholars.

This sums up all the data supplied by the Sanskrit, Pali and Prakrit literatures about the political career of Udayana. Evidently, legend has recorded the important events of his political career and done away with the rest. The most important landmarks of his reign are his two matrimonial alliances with the princesses of Avantī and Magadha. "Had not Udayana contracted these alliances," says Dr. Law, "Kauśāmbī would have fallen an easy prey to the overgrowing powers of Magadha aud Avantī."[6] Prof. Ghosh agrees saying, "These

1. Chap. I, Age and Genealogy, pp. 3–13.
2. Vin, ii, p. 291.
3. Maj, II, 85.
4. Vin, ii, p. 127; Dhs J. J. iii, p. 157, No. 353, MNA on Maj. 85.
5. India and the Persian empire, ii ( J. A. S. B., 1933 ).
6. G. E. B., p. 23.

two royal marriages were essentially necessary for the maintenance of the political independence of Kauśāmbī which served as a buffer state between Avantī and Magadha."[1]

However, Udayana's political craeer after the strengthening of his position by the two wise marriages is not certain. Legend does credit him with a few more incidents of the political type as in the Kashmirian BK recensions and Śrīharṣa's plays, but how far these testimonies contain a kernel of historical facts is, to say the least, debatable. But it can be safely accepted that Udayana went on fulfilling his political obligations satisfactorily until his unworthy successor, whosoever he was, succeeded him to the important sovereignty of Kauśāmbī.

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1. E. H. K., pp. 18–19.

# CHAPTER VI

## UDAYANA AND THE CONTEMPORARY RELIGIONS

### *The general view point*

Upto now scholars have unanimously accepted the claim of the Buddhist tradition that at some stage of his life, king Udayana became so much impressed by either Lord Buddha himself or his followers, that he became converted to Buddhism. For example Prof. N. N. Ghosh concludes, "Such a king, (Udayana) who had been bitterly hostile to Buddhism, became a follower of the Buddhist church after coming into contact with Piṇḍola Bhāradvāja."[1] Dr. B. C. Law voices the same opinion but rather diffidently. "Even such a person as Udayana is said to have been converted to Buddhism, although it is not yet known what he actually did for this religion".[2]

Yet the problem is not really so simple as it has been made out to be so far. To accept unquestioningly the Buddhist assertion of Udayana's conversion, we will have to shut our eyes to the versions offered by the other literary sources. Therefore, it would be wiser on our part to look into all the authorities which have to say anything about king Udayana's religious beliefs before reaching any final conclusion.

### *The Buddhist tradition*

The story of Udayana's conversion to Buddhism is found in three Pali works, the Sy N, the Dh PA and the SN A. Of these three testimonies, the first one is canonical and the other two are noncanonical.

It is surprising that the Buddhist legend itself is not definite about the circumstances leading to Udayana's conversion to Buddhism. According to the Sy N and the SN A, the means of Udayana's conversion was Piṇḍola Bhāradvāja, a celebrated Buddhist monk of those times, whereas the Dh PA gives the credit to Sāmāvatī, one of Udayana's chief queens.

1. E. H. K., p. 22.
2. K. A. L., p. 16.

According to the Sy N, Udayana of his own accord, went to Piṇḍola Bhāradvāja when the latter was dwelling at the Ghositārāma at Kauśāmbī and held a theological discourse with him in which Piṇḍola successfully resolved his doubts regarding the technicalities of the Buddhist religion. Udayana was so satisfied with the discussion and Piṇḍola's answers that he there and then, took unto himself the threefold refuge of Lord Buddha's order and proclaimed himself a devotee of Buddhism.[1]

The SN A also gives the credit for Udayana's conversion to Buddhism to the same person, viz., Piṇḍola Bhāradvāja. According to it 'once when Lord Buddha was dwelling at Sāvatthī, Piṇḍola Bhāradvāja, desirous of spending the day at some cool place, went to Udakavana, a pleasure garden of king Udena of Kosambī. There he seated himself in the shade of a tree, to concentrate. That very day, king Udena also went to his pleasure-garden and having spent the major part of the day there in drinking, dances and songs etcetera, went to sleep placing his head in the lap of a woman. All the other women left him sleeping and having come across the monk in the course of their wanderings, crept upto him silently and bowing to him, sat down around him. The monk, getting up from his concentration 'preached the 'Dhamma' to them which drew their applause. The other woman who was left with the king, thinking that they were enjoying themselves in frolics, got jealous and woke up the king with a movement of her thigh. To his query as to where were the other women, she insinuated that they were enjoyiug themselves with a monk. Enraged, Udena went towards Piṇḍola. Some of the women got up on seeing him, others did not, telling him that they were listening to the 'Dhamma'. This made the king more angry. He did not bow to Piṇḍola and asked him why he had come there. "For 'Viveka' " was the reply. At this, the king wanted the monk to relate his 'Viveka'. The monk, realising that this demand was not motivated by a desire of knowledge, kept silent. The king, threatening to have him bitten by redants, went to an anthill under a tree nearby but while picking it up, he happened to scatter it over his own body. But wiping his body and picking

1. Sy N, IV, XXXV. 127, pp. 110–113.

up another handful, he hurried towards Piṇḍola. The latter, however, realised the dire consequences of the king's rash action and taking pity upon him, flew away. The women began to upbraid Udena who was repentant of his sin and having called the gardenkeeper, found out from him that on other days also, Piṇḍola used to come to the garden. Thereupon, he asked the gardenkeeper to inform him immediately of the monk's arrival the next time that the latter came there. Accordingly, one day, he was informed of Piṇḍola's arrival. Going to him, Udena asked certain questions of him and consequently took unto himself the threefold refuge."[1]

The account of Udayana's encounter with Piṇḍola Bhāradvāja is also found in the Mt J, but with lesser details and minor differences. Important from our point of view is the fact that here the story is not pursued upto Udayana's change of heart and ends on a different note thus :

'The king in his rage, broke an anthill on the monk's body. The latter flew in the sky and upbraided the king. Then he flew away to Jetavana where the Buddha was staying at that time. Getting down at Gandhakuṭidvāra, he related the whole episode to the Lord. The master, remarking that not only in this birth but previously also Udena had maltreated ascetics, related the Mātaṅga Jātaka."[2]

On looking critically at the three testimonies, one does not meet much difficulty in bringing out a coordination between the Sy N and the SN A accounts of Udayana's conversion. The latter clearly states that the conversion did not take place on the same day on which the torturing of Piṇḍola by Udayana was attempted. It maintains that Piṇḍola continued to come to Udakavana and on one such day, Udayana was informed of his visit and went to him. When Piṇḍola satisfactorily answered the king's questions, the latter embraced Buddhism.

The Sy N on the other hand, concentrating as it is on the religious discussion between the king and the sage, begins the story straightaway by saying that king Udena one day went to the sage Piṇḍola Bhāradvāja while the latter was dwelling

1. SN A, II, iv. 2, p. 514.
2. Mt J, J. iii, p. 384.

at the Ghositārāma at Kosambī.[1] Thus there is not much difference between the two testimonies. The Sy N does not refute the episode of the unhappy encounter between the king and the sage. It simply finds it irrelevant and does not mention it. The SN A even mentions that a religious discussion took place between the two but does not go into the details quite naturally too as its aim is to explain the origination of the Guhaṭṭhaka Sutta which depends solely on the misbehaviour of king Udayana towards the sage Piṇḍola Bhāradvāja.

But there is one slight difference to be noted. According to the Sy N, the faithful theological discussion between the king and Piṇḍola took place at the Ghositārāma whereas in the SN A its venue is Udakavana.

Now looking at the Jātaka account and the SN A account of the unhappy encounter between king Udayana and the sage Piṇḍola Bhāradvāja, we find that there is no material difference between the two. The Jātaka account is rather simpler because we find that in the SN A, the story is given with more details and in a more embellished form. The only important point to note is that the Jātaka story makes no mention of Udayana's conversion to Buddhism being an outcome of the unhappy episode. It can be explained on the ground that as it was out of point and as the Jātaka story is given in a brief form, the mentioning of this fact was left out. Still, it is rather curious that while one work, dealing with the same topic, finds the fact of the conversion important enough to go to the length of sidestepping from the main story that it was pursuing to mention it, the other observes absolute and deliberate silence about it. This difference becomes more important when we remember in this connection that in the SN A, the story is only given in order to illustrate are Sutta and to explain its origination, whereas in the Jātaka the conduct of Udena is the topic being discussed.[2] Would it not have been more natural for the Jātaka story to mention the ultimate conversion of king Udayana ? One cannot help getting a little sceptical in accepting the SN A account, specially when one remember in this connection that the Jātaka story is the canonical account whereas

1. Sy N, IV, XXXV. 127, p. 110.
2. Mt J; J. iii,. p 384.

the other account is the noncanoical one and definitely of a later time.

The remaining Pali account of Udayana's conversion to Buddhism is found in the Dh PA. It is entirely different from the Sy N and the SN A accounts because it makes no mention of Piṇḍola Bhāradvāja and gives the credit for Udayana's conversion to his Buddhist queen Sāmāvatī. As we have seen in Chapter IV, king Udena according to the Dh PA, had three wives: Sāmāvatī, Māgandiyā and Vāsuladattā. Of these, Sāmāvatī was converted to Buddhism along with five hundred women of her household by her maid-servant Khujjuttarā when the Lord visited Kosambī at the invitation of the three bankers of Kosambī, viz., Ghosita, Kukkuṭa and Pāvāriya.[1] Now, Māgandiyā bore Lord Buddha a secret grudge because prior to her marriage to Udena, her hand was offered to the Lord by her father but the former had, however, rejected it, calling her a vessel of filth.[2] She hired a slave to revile and abuse the Buddha in the streets when he came to Kosambī. But her plan failed because undaunted by it, the Buddha stayed on at Kosambī inspite of Ānanda's suggestion to go away and after seven days the abuse ceased.[3]

'Then Māgandiyā tried to avenge herself on her pious cowife Sāmāvatī who, she had discovered, was a devoted disciple of the Buddha. Her various attempts to bring about the downfall of Sāmāvatī by getting Udena displeased with her malicious insinuations about the holes in the walls of Sāmāvatī's apartments, the episodes of the cooking of the fowls and the serpent in the king's lute have already been dealt with in Chapter IV. According to the Dh PA, it was the serpent episode which led to Udayana's conversion. The story goes thus: 'Having come to believe through Māgandiyā's insinuations that Sāmāvatī had designs on his life, Udena placed Sāmāvatī and her women in a line one behind the other and sent for his bow which could only be strung by one thousand men. When it was handed to him, he shot one arrow at Sāmāvatī's breast but by the power of her goodness, the arrow instead of piercing her, turned back

1. Dh PA, i, Udv, pp. 205–208.
2. Dh PA, i, Udv, pp. 199–203.
3. Dh PA, i, Udv, pp. 215–218.

and coming to Udena, stopped at his breast as if going to pierce it. This convinced him of Sāmāvatī's innocence and of her supernatural powers. Kneeling at her feet, he asked for refuge from her but she asked him to accept the noble Lord's refuge like her. When Udena repeated his request, she again insisted upon it. Thereupon, he proclaimed that he would accept the refuge of both the Lord and of hers and requested her to ask for a boon. She accepted the boon. The king went to the Buddha, took unto himself the refuge and inviting the Saṅgha to his palace, offered many valuable and numerous gifts to it. Then he asked Sāmāvatī to name her boon. She chose that the Buddha with five hundred monks, should come daily and preach the 'Dhamma' at her apartments. But the Buddha was unable to comply with her request. Then she asked for one monk to come daily and preach to her. Lord Buddha, then, appointed Ānanda to go with five hundred monks to her apartments and to preach there. Sāmāvatī and her women, daily, used to give them meals and to listen to the Dhamma.[1]

This story of Māgandiyā's antipathy to Lord Buddha, her malicious attitude towards Sāmāvatī, her Buddhist cowife, and her various evil attempts to bring about the downfall of Sāmāvatī is also given in the Dvy, with minor differences in details. Yet, here, nothing is said about Udayana's making the Lord his refuge which is tantamount to being converted to Buddhism. According to the Dvy, 'The king was highly enraged with Śyāmāvatī[2] when he was led to believe by Anupamā's[3] manoeuvres that Śyāmāvatī had killed and cooked two live birds for Lord Buddha while she had refused to do so earlier, even for the king's meals. Filling his bow he rushed off to Śyāmāvatī's palace. In the meanwhile, a maid-servant informed Śyāmāvatī of the king's wrath. She asked all her women to attain "Maitrī" and they obeyed her. When the king came there he shot an arrow at them but it droped down halfway. Then he shot another but it came back and fell near him. He began to aim another but Śyāmāvātī checked him in time. The king was then subdued and asked her as to who she was. She replied

1. Dh PA, i, Udv, pp. 210–218.
2. The Sanskrit form of Sāmāvatī in Dvy.
3. Another name of Māgandiyā.

that she was an 'anāgāminī Śrāvikā' of the Lord. The king was so pleased with her that he granted her a boon. She asked that arrangements should be made for the preaching of the 'Dharma' for her. The king arranged for 'Dharmānvaya' near both the queens. Whatever new corns or new fruits he used to get, he henceforth began to present to Śyāmāvatī'.[1]

The Dvy, thus, even though it deals with the same topic, does not say anything about Udayana's ultimately making the Lord his refuge. He grants Sāmāvatī a boon as in the Dh PA and she asks for arrangements which will make it possible for her and her women to listen to Lord Buddha's teachings. The king complies with her wishes as in the Dh PA but the intervening fact of the king's asking Sāmāvatī to be his refuge; and her advice to him to make the great Lord himself his refuge and the king's ultimate conversion to Buddhism, is completely ignored in the Dvy. There does not seem any probability of the author of the Dvy having forgotten to mention this important fact, if it was believed in his times.

In this connection, it will not be out of place to note that the Buddhist tradition itself is not fixed about how Udayana came to be converted to Buddhism. The Tibetan Buddhist legend is entirely different from the Pāli Buddhist legend in this respect. It makes Rockhill remark, "I have found no mention of the event in Vinaya"[2] when he is about to reproduce the history of the conversion of the king of Kauśāmbī as told in the 16th volume of the Mdo f.337-339. According to it, 'It was not long after his departure from Kapilavastu that the Buddha thought of introducing his doctrine into Kauśāmbī. The blessed one was teaching his doctrine to the multitude in the city of Vārāṇasī when perceiving that the time for the conversion of Udayana (Tchar–byed), king of Vadsala had arrived, he together with his disciples departed for the Vadsala country. Udayana, king of Vadsala had assembled his army with the intention of conquering the city of Kanakavatī (Gser–chan) when seeing the blessed one approaching, he exclaimed in anger: "All such messengers of bad luck must be put to death !" and with that he took a sharp arrow and shot it at the blessed

1. Dvy, XXXVI, pp. 519-529.
2. Rockhill-The Life of Buddha, p. 74.

one. As it flew through the air........these words were heard :

"From malice is misery brought forth
He who here gives upto strife and quarrel
Hereafter will experience the misery of hell.
Put them away, malice and quarrelling."

'When the king heard these words, he became submissive to the Blessed One and with clasped hands he sat down near the Buddha who preached to him on giving up strife and quarrelling, on conquering not human enemies but egoism, that great and mighty foe. "Let discernment (ruam–rtog) be your sword; faith, charity and morality your fort, virtue your army and patience your armour. Let diligence be your spear, meditation the bow you bend, and detachment the arrow".[1]

These are the different Buddhist accounts of Udayana's conversion to Buddhism. However, there are two more testimonies which have made scholars conclude that Udayana was a follower of Lord Buddha. One is the famous statement of Hieun Tsang that king Udayana of Kauśāmbī had had made a statue of Lord Buddha in red Sandalwood during the lifetime of the Lord, which became the great object of veneration at Kauśāmbī "Within the old royal enclosure ( king ) of the capital" the pilgrim relates, "was a large Buddhist temple (ching–she) over sixty feet high in which was a carved Sandalwood image of the Buddha with a stone canopy suspended over it. This image made miraculous manifestations and no power could move it from its place........It was the one made for Udayanarājā by the artist conveyed to the Trayastrimśa heaven by Mudgalaputra at king's requests."[2] "This famous statue of Buddha in red Sandalwood which was made by king Udayana during the lifetime of the teacher still ( in Hiuen Tsang's times ) existed under a stone dome in the ancient palace of king Udayana. The statue was placed under a stone dome within the precincts of the palace of Udayana which is described by Hiuen Tsang as being situated in the very middle of Kauśāmbī".[3]

1. Rockhill–The Life of Buddha, p. 17.
2. Thomas Watters, Yuan Chwang, p. 368.
3. J. A. S. B. 1865, Vol XXXIV : Report of the Archaeological Survey : XIV Kosam or Kausambi, p. 223.

*The Tvr testimony*

The other testimony which is supposed to weigh with us a little in favour of king Udayana's having embraced Buddhism is the Sanskrit drama Tvr. It maintains that Udayana became an ascetic after being informed by his minister Rumaṇvān of Vāsavadattā's being accidentally burnt in a fire at Lāvāṇaka while the king was away hunting. M. Ramkrishna Kavi concludes that "in the plot the hero (Udayana) becomes a Buddhist Tāpasa. On the advice of Rumaṇvān, he ( Udayana ) became a Buddhist Tāpasa and went to various holy places".[1] But a close scrutiny of the play reveals that Mr. Kavi has reached a hasty conclusion and that there is no positive ground to suppose that the Tvr would have us believe that Udayana became a Buddhist monk after learning Vāsavadattā's death.

When Udayana announces his decision of committing suicide because for him, the world has gone blank in the absence of Vāsavadattā, Rumaṇvān suggests to him that if such is his decision, they should first go to the hermitage at Prayāga where after meeting the holy sages, Udayana should act in accordance with his wishes. The latter acquisces, remarking that 'Prayāga is the place where Gangā and Yamunā meet, where the sages achieve their objects, where the supreme purification of sinners is acquired and where everyone's desire is fulfilled."[2] The next that we hear of him is from Lāmakāyana who tells us that 'Rumaṇvān stayed behind and did not accompany Udayana on his pilgrimage pretending that he was angry with the latter who was transgressing against the conduct standardized by his ancestors, although he was acting in accordance with Rumaṇvān's advice in turning an ascetic and going to Rājagṛha."[3]

Still further we find Padmāvatī telling the disguised Vāsavadattā that 'Udayana had become a 'tāpasa', forsaking every thing and saying that he had no further use for worldly life'.[4]

Looking critically at these references to Udayana's asceticism, one can hardly find here any grounds to suppose that Udayana became a Buddhist monk. On the other hand, the importance

1. P. IV. O. C., Vol. II, p. 173, p. 177.
2. Tvr, Act II, pp. 24–25, Sl. 3.
3. Tvr, Act III, Prelude, p. 27.
4. Tvr, Act III, p. 31.

attached to Prayāga herein, rather contradicts the supposition for Prayāga was never considered a place of pilgrimage by the Buddhists. It is also noteworthy that Udayana's 'Pravrajyā' is repeatedly described as 'Jaṭādhāraṇa', e.g., Padmāvatī's maid on seeing Udayana as an ascetic remarks that "he is similar to the portrait that they have with the difference that he has done 'Jaṭāparigraha'."[1] Udayana himself says later on, in the fourth act that he has donned 'Jaṭā'.[2] He reiterates in the fifth act that 'he has tied 'Jaṭā' in Vāsavadattā's absence.'[3]

Now it is well known that the Buddhist 'Pravrajyā' was not symbolised by 'Jaṭādhāraṇa'. On the other hand, the practice prevalent amongst the Buddhist monks was to shave off their heads because they foresaw sixteen types of difficulties in maintaining their hair.[4] Shaving off the heads had become such a regularity with the Buddhist monks that "Muṇḍaka" became prevalent as a nickname for them amongst the Brāhmaṇas whereas Jaṭādhāraṇa generally symbolised the Vedic asceticism.

Mr. Kavi has perhaps been misled by the usage of the terms 'Pravrajyā' and 'Parivrājaka' in the Tvr. Undoubtedly, here these terms are used repeatedly, e.g., the entry of Udayana and the jester is announced in the third act thus, "Then enter the king in the guise of a 'tāpasa' and the jester dressed as a 'parivrāj'."[5] Later on, we find the jester wailing that he is tired and, therefore, should be freed from 'pravrajyā'.[6] Again, in the fifth act, he refers to Udayana's 'pravrajyā' and 'Jaṭā'.[7]

Thus, it becomes clear that the author of the Tvr, would definitely have us believe that Udayana embraced temporary 'pravrajyā' after Vāsavadattā's fake death. But it would be attaching undue importance to these two terms if we are to conclude on their account that Udayana became a Buddhist monk. After all, in the Svd of Bhāsa, Yaugandharāyaṇa disguises himself as a 'parivrājaka' but it has never been taken to

1. Tvr, Act III, p. 39.
2. Tvr, Act IV, p. 45.
3. Tvr, Act V, p. 59.
4. MP, Bāhirakathā, p. 11.
5. Tvr, Act III, p. 26.
6. Tvr, Act III, p. 37.
7. Tvr, Act V, p. 57.

denote that he donned a Buddhist monk's garbs. As for the 'pravrajyā' of Udayana, we find in the Tvr itself Padmāvatī emulating Udayana and taking upon herself 'pravrajyā'.[1] But the hermitage where she dwells during her temporary renunciation of worldly life, does not resemble a Buddhist monastery and looks like a Vedic Āśrama in all its aspects. We find in it 'Āśramakanyakā's' and 'tāpasīs' offering oblations.[2] We also notice that Padmāvatī is in the habit of worshipping Bhagavatī with flowers, which is not in keeping with the practice of the Buddhist nuns, : Padmāvatī—Dear friend, these creepers are in blossom; why not pluck flowers for worshipping Bhagavatī ?"[3]

This does not leave any possible doubt in the reader's mind that Padmāvatī's pravrajyā' was not the Buddhist 'pravrajyā'. Then in the absence of any other specific statement, why should Mr. Kavi or for that matter anyone else conclude that the same term, viz., 'pravrajyā', should denote Buddhist monkhood in the case of Udayana ? Anyway, even if all these arguments do not sound convincing enough, the incomplete Bharatavākya, uttered by Udayana at the end of the play ought to decide the issue for us for in it, he prays for the prosperity of the Vipras.[4] The Buddhists, as is wellknown, did not hold the Brahmins in any especial esteem for they believed in and preached the equality of all the castes. Therefore, the Bharatavākya of the Tvr is truly the utterance of an orthodox Hindu of the old school of faith.

So it can be fairly concluded that the Tvr is not an important testimony so far as the problem of Udayana's conversion to Buddhism is concerned.

At this juncture, it becomes necessary to consult all the Sanskrit and Prakrit texts which concern themselves with Udayana's religious beliefs.

### *The Jain tradition*

The Jain Mrgāvatī legend as recorded in the Mṛgāvatī Rāsa, claims that alongwith his mother Mṛgāvatī, Udayana

1. Tvr, Act III, Prelude, pp. 28, 39.
2. Tvr, Act III, p. 35, Sl. 9; p. 42, Sl. 16.
3. Tvr, Act III, p. 32.
4. Tvr, Act VI, p. 75, Sl. 10.

also was converted to Jainism when Lord Mahāvīra visited Kauśāmbī sometimes after his father's death. It is also specified that his coronation had already taken place then and that he took unto himself the twelve Vratas of the Jains.[1]

The story of Mṛgāvatī's conversion is also found in the KPP as we have already seen while dealing with Udayana's early life in Chapter II[2]. Herein, nothing is said about Udayana's conversion although about Mṛgāvatī's entering the order of Lord Mahāvīra, the Prakrit work agrees with the Mṛgāvatī Rāsa. It also maintains that on account of her Sīla ( Śīla ), she achieved Kevalanāṇa (Kaivalyajñāna)[3]. The Vtk also confirms the conversion of Mṛgāvatī. According to it, Kauśāmbī was a big centre of Jain religion and developed into an important hermitage of the Jains. It had many caityas, of which particular mention is made of Padmaprabha ( Paumappaha )[4].

The fact that the Prakrit works do not say anything about Udayana's conversion to Jainism, makes it almost definite that he never came under its influence. There seems to be no reason, however, to be sceptical about Mṛgāvatī's entering Lord Mahāvīra's order. As Udayana was a younger contemporary of Lord Buddha, Jainism must have been highly popular during his childhood. Moreover, it is quite likely that his mother was related to Lord Mahāvīra[5]. Therefore, it is more than probable that after her husband's death, she renunciated worldly life to become a Jain nun, harassed as she was by Pradyota's unwelcome advances. However, it is noteworthy that inspite of the Vtk's claim that Kauśāmbī developed into an important hermitage of the Jains, the archaeological remains and finds of Kauśāmbī do not, in any way, suggest that Kauśāmbī came under the influence of the Jain religion.

*The Sanskrit tradition*

Of the Sanskrit works which deal with some aspect or the other of Udayana's life, the dramas of Bhāsa and Śrīharsa and

1. Nahata : Ss kā Mrgv R, Khaṇḍa III.
2. Chap. II, pp. 44–48; KPP, Mṛgāvatīkathā, pp. 230–236.
3. KPP, Mṛgāvatīkathā, p. 236.
4. Vtk, 12 Ksbnk, p. 23.
5. Chap. I, pp. 29–30.

the Tvr and the Vvd do not make any specific allusion to Udayana's religious beliefs. All the same, these dramas suggest that Udayana was a follower of the ancient Hindu religion as the atmosphere of his court and palace is strikingly of the orthodox Hindu type. It is natural too, as the writers of these dramas are known to be orthodox Hindus. Yet, even if we place our credence in the information not rendered but suggested by them, it does not, in any way, come into conflict with the Buddhist tradition of Udayana's conversion, sometime in his later life. All these Sanskrit dramas have one or the other of Udayana's many marriages as their theme and consequently depict him in his prime of life. Therefore, there is no real conflict between these Sanskrit dramas and the Buddhist dramas.

The Kashmirian BK recensions have enough to say about Udayana's religious beliefs because they deal with his whole life. According to them, Udayana was a devotee of Lord Śiva. They depict him worshipping Lord Śiva and keeping fast for three nights before setting out on his 'Digvijaya' campaign[1]. He is also said to have worshipped along with Vāsavadattā the same deity in order to obtain a son[2].

The BKŚS also maintains that Udayana, in his religious belief, was an orthodox Hindu but it does not specifically claim that he was a devotee of Lord Śiva. According to it, 'Desirous of obtaining a son, on an auspicious day, he worshipped the deities, fire and Brāhmaṇas and then along with his wives and minister, he set off for the Nāgavanodyāna. There, he and Vāsavadattā pleased the king of the kings by practising hard austerities.'[3]

However, so far this BK contention of Udayana's belonging to the orthodox Hindu faith, again causes no contradiction to the Buddhist tradition of his conversion to Buddhism at some latter stage of his life. More important from our point of view is the claim of the BKM and the KSS that he died a Śaiva for it directly contradicts the Buddhist tradition. As it is, the KSS

1. BKM, III, LvL, p. 91, Sls. 276–277; KSS, III, LvL, T. 5, Sls. 2–8.
2. BKM, IV, Nvdj L, p. 106, Sls. 40–41; KSS, IV, Nvdj L, T. 1, Sls 139–146.
3. BKŚS, canto V, pp. 47–48, Sls. 1–16.

informs us that before jumping off from the peak of tha Kālañjara, Udayana bowed to Lord Śiva.[1] The BKM gives a more detailed account of the happening, saying that before jumping off from Kālañjara, Udayana offered oblations to the holy fire, concentrated on Lord Śiva and also sang devotional songs on his lute in honour of the same deity.[2] Both these works would thus, have us believe that Udayana remained a Śaiva upto the end of his life. Therefore, these works are in direct conflict with the Buddhist tradition as they totally ignore Udayana's supposed conversion to Buddhism. It becomes necessary now to examine the authenticity of the Buddhist legend.

*Authenticity of the Buddhist tradition*

It is an important fact that the story of Udayana's conversion to Buddhism is found mostly in the noncanonical Buddhist literature. The only canonical reference to Udayana's embracing Buddhism is found in the Sy N. The other two testimonies which deal with Udayana's conversion are the SNA and the Dh PA both noncanonical and of a much later date.[3] Therefore, the Mt J which belongs to the canon and hence cannot be later than the third century B.C. and the Dvy which cannot be later than early fourth century A.D.[4] are considerably earlier works than these.

As we have seen before, the episodes of Udayana's life which led to his conversion in the SNA and the Dh PA are also dealt with in the Mt J and the Dvy respectively. It is significant that no mention of Udayana's conversion is found in the earlier and hence the more reliable authorities. This important difference between the earlier and the later testimonies, naturally, makes one doubtful about the authenticity of the Dh PA and the SNA accounts. Moreover the two accounts differ between themseles too and hence it is evident that even upto the fifth century A.D., the Buddhist tradition was not fixed about how Udayana came to be converted to Buddhism. As we have seen before, the Tibetan Buddhist tradition has an entirely different story to tell about Udayana's conversion.

1. KSS, XVI, Sm L, T. 1, p. 528, Sls. 81–84.
2. BKM, XVIII, Sm L, pp. 601–602, Sls. 30–35.
3. Geiger : Pl I.L, Chap. II, pp. 28, 32.
4. Introduction.

The Sy N, the only canonical authority which mentions Udayana's conversion is considered by the scholars to be one of the later pieces of the canon. For example, Geiger asserts that 'the third and the fourth Nikāyas are more pronouncedly later and supplementary collections.'[1] This of course lessens down our credence in its authenticity. Yet, this fact by itself would not have been sufficient to waive off the Sy N assertions about Udayana's conversion, had not two more reliable canonical works led us to believe otherwise.

The Vin, one of the earliest and the most authentic portions of the Tipitaka relates an incident of Udayana's life which makes one think again about the upto now unanimously accepted fact of Udayana's conversion to Buddhism. According to it, 'After the death of Lord Buddha, Ānanda, in accordance with the Master's last instructions, went from Ujjenī by boat along with five hundred monks to impose the 'Brahmadaṇḍa' on Channabhikkhu. On reaching Kosambī, he got down and stayed not far from king Udena's garden. At that time, Udena was strolling in his garden in the company of his women. They heard about Ānanda's arrival. With the king's permission, the women went to pay their homage to their preceptor. Ānanda preached the 'Dhamma' to them and they were so pleased with it that they presented him with five hundred upper garments.

'When they got back to the king, he was curious as to what they had given to Ānanda. Their reply so irritated him that he straight a way hurried to Ānanda and asked the latter as to what was he going to do with five hundred pieces of clothing. When Ānanda's answers assured him that nothing given to any member of the Buddhist order was wasted because it was distributed equally between all the members in accordance with their needs and because it was utilised to the utmost, he was so pleased that he presented the monk with another five hundred upper garments.'[2]

The fact that the women of Udayana's harem refer to Ānanda as their preceptor, obviously refers to the Sāmāvatī episode of the Dh PA where upon Udayana's making a request

1. Pl LL, Chap. I, p. 18.
2. Vin, ii-cullavagga-xi : 12-14, pp. 290-291.

to him on behalf of his womenfolk, Lord Buddha entrusts Ānanda with the mission of going to the royal household of Kauśāmbī and preaching there.[1]

The episode of the presentation to Ānanda of five hundred upper garments itself, is corroborated by the Dh PA although in it, it takes place immediately after the conversion of king Udayana when Ānanda used to go to preach to Sāmāvatī and her attendants.[2] Thus, even the Dh PA testifies that doubt about the conduct of the Bhikkhus, particularly Ānanda, arose in Udayana's mind after his conversion. According to the Vin also, the episode occurs after Udayana's conversion because both the Dh PA and the SNA maintain that he was converted during the Buddha's lifetime as in the former, Udayana is converted by the Buddha himself[3] whereas in the latter, Piṇḍola goes and relates the incident to the Master at Sāvatthī;[4] and the Vin depicts the episode of the five hundred upper garments as occurring after the Lord's 'parinibbāna'.[5] The conduct of Udayana in the Dh PA and the Vin accounts, therefore, does not appear to be in keeping with that of a devoted follower of Buddhism. Firstly, he permits his womenfolk to go and listen to Ānanda's preachings but does not visit the latter himself in order to pay his homage at the feet of such an important disciple of the Lord, especially when the Lord has just died and the monk is coming almost direct from the Lord's deathbed. Secondly he is doubtful and suspicious about the conduct of Ānanda and the Bhikkhus and does not trust their 'aparigraha' in which he should have had faith if he was enlightened by the Lord himself. His conduct here, therefore, does not fall into line with the conduct of one who was such a devoted follower of the Lord as Buddhist legend would have one believe that he was. Therefore, the Vin evidence makes us question the authenticity of the Buddhist traditian about Udayana's conversion to Buddhism.

An episode narrated in the Mahāparinibbāna Sutta, one of the most reliable pieces of the Buddhist canon, also weighs

1. Dh PA, i, Udv, p. 218.
2. Dh PA, i, Udv, pp. 218–220.
3. Dh PA, x, Udv, pp. 214–218.
4. SNA, ii, iv–2, p. 514.
5. Vin, ii, p. 290.

against the Buddhist claim that Udayana was a follower of their faith. According to this Sutta, 'After the 'parinibbāna' of Lord Buddha, eight states claimed the remains of his body which were in the possession of the Mallas of Kusinārā. Ajātasattu, the Māgadha king was the first to assert his claim, saying that as both he and the Buddha belonged to the warrior caste, he deserved some portion of the remains of the Lord's body as he wanted to erect a 'thūpa' and a 'maha' over it. He was followed by five other states, viz., the Licchavis of Vesāli, the Sakyas of Kapilavatthu who were also the kinsmen of the Buddha, the Bulīs of Allakappa, the Koliyas of Rāmagāma and the Mallas of Pavā. Vethudīpaka Brāhmaṇa also wanted his share of the Lord's body. The Mallas of Kusinārā, at first, obstinately refused to pay any heed to these demands but on the advice of Doṇa Brāhmaṇa, they agreed to share with these seven claimants, the precious remains of the Buddha's mortal coil. It was, accordingly, divided in eight equal parts. Belatedly, the Moriyas of Pippalivana, asked for their legitimate share but had to be satisfied with the 'angāras' as the body of the Lord had already been distributed. Doṇa Brāhmaṇa was given the 'tumba' which had contained the Lord's body before the division. The eight states and the two Brāhmaṇas, separately, erected 'thūpas' and 'mahas' over their shares. Thus, at first, there were ten thūpas.[1]

It is noteworthy that amongst these eight claimant states which shared the precious remains of Lord Buddha's body, no mention is made of Udayana or Kauśāmbī. Both of them were by no means less important or great in India of Buddha's times than these aforementioned political units. In fact, Kauśāmbī is considered to be one of the four foremost kingdoms of Buddhist India. And like these eight heads of states, Udayana also belonged to the warrior caste. Therefore, if Udayana had by the time of the Lord's 'parinibbāna' become as ardent a Buddhist as the Buddhist tradition claims, it is rather surprising that he did not raise his claim to the precious remains of the Lord's body like these eight states. A devotee who, as Hieun Tsang would have us believe, had had made an image of the Buddha and installed it under a stone

1. DN, XV, Mhp S, pp. 164-167.

dome within the precincts of his palace[1], is not expected to let his claim go by so passively. Especially when he is known to be very rash and proud by temperament.[2] It is difficult to doubt the authenticity of the Mahāparinibbāna Sutta testimony. It is believed to be one of the most reliable pieces of the Tipiṭaka. In the words of Geiger, 'It is, however, impossible to read the Mahāparinibbāna Sutta without getting the impression that here we are confronted with the actual reminiscences of the last days of the Master'[3]

About the red sandalwood statue, which Hieun Tsang informs us, was made during the Lord's lifetime at king Udayana's orders, this story must have been current in the seventh century A. D. As we have seen before, by the fifth century A. D., the legend about Udayana's conversion to Buddhism had already been born and therefore two centuries later, when Hieun Tsang came to India, the statue which was found in Kauśāmbī, might have been believed to be made for Udayana. Yet one can not help doubting this information. It is manifestly an invention because archaeology teaches us that Indian sculptors down at least to the second century B. C., were content to represent Buddha by symbols like the footprint or the wheel. Moreover, the earliest statues of Buddha are not only of Hellenistic craftsmanship and found most copiously in Gandhāra but have in many cases the head of a Greek God, a device which would have been entirely unnecessary if there were already an indigenous model to go upon. The statue, supposed to be made during the Lord's lifetime, because of its resemblance to the actual model would have been too valuable to be ignored as a model. Since the first statues of the Buddha must have been made centuries after his time, it becomes impossible to believe that any image could have been set up by Udayana. The total absence of any mentioning of the image tale in the earlier tradition makes Dr. B. C. Law decide against beleving it, "But nowhere in the earlier tradition, Udayana is found to have been the builder of

1. J. A. S. B., Vol XXXIV, Report of the Archaeological Survey, XIV-Kosam or Kosambi, p. 223 ff.
2. Chap. II, pp. 61-63.
3. Pl LL, Chap. 1, p. 12.

any such temple, not to speak of the marvellous statue of the Buddha. The temple with the image installed in it must have been built by some other person or persons in later times."[1] According to H. K. Deb also, "Sectarian eagerness to claim a devotee in Udayana lies at the bottom of the tale."[2]

This 'sectarian eagerness to claim a devotee in Udayana', must have, again, been responsible for giving birth to the various accounts of Udayana's conversion to Buddhism which are found in the Buddhist works. As we have seen before in the case of the SNA and the Dh PA accounts, counterparts of the same stories in earlier works, viz. the Mt J and the Dvy, do not mention the conversion. It seems, therefore, quite probable that upto the time when Jātakas and the Dvy were composed, i.e., the fourth century A.D. at the latest, the tradition about Udayana's conversion had not come into being. The Sy N portion which contains an account of the conversion of Udayana, can quite probably be a later addition to the canon. Such interpolations are not rare in it even if one has to consider it as earlier than the Dvy, it only denotes that by the time it was written, a few of the very large and widespread host of Buddhists had already begun to claim Udayana as a follower of their religion and to make attempts to convince others of their fabrication. Any way, no one can claim that it was written during Buddha's and hence Udayana's lifetime like the Mahāparinibbāna Sutta. As for the SNA and the Dh PA testimonies, evidently some later writer has embellished the original stories and added to them the statements about Udayana's conversion. Even upto the fifth century A.D., when the legend of Udayana's conversion was in full swing and fully believed in, tradition was not fixed about the details of his supposed conversion.

But this refutation of the popular belief about Udayana's conversion confines itself to asserting that in his religious beliefs he was not a Buddhist and that he was not actually converted to Buddhsim as the Buddhist tradition claims. That like other contemporary princes of his times, he was influenced a lot about his conduct and behaviour by the Lord's advice, no one can deny.

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1. K. A. L., p. 18.
2. J. A. S. B., Vol. 29, 1933, India and the Persian Empire II, p. 340 ff.

According to the Dlh J, on Lord Buddha's advice, Udayana restored all the old honours and privileges to Bhadravatī, his she-elephant, whom he had previously turned out when she grew out of use. Consequently, she was destitute and when the Buddha honoured Kauśāmbī with a visit, she entreated him to see to it that her wrongs were redressed. Buddha went to Udayana's palace where the latter honoured him and offered him many gifts. The Lord made him realise the injustice done to Bhadravatī and it resulted in the reinstatement of the she-elephant in her old place.[1]

We also find Udayana going to the Buddha after the death of Śyāmāvatī and her five hundred companions through the malicious mechinations of Anupamā, and consulting the Lord about the tragedy that had taken place in his harem.[2]

*Udayana's misunderstood hostility towards Buddhism*

Udayana's earlier hostility towards Buddhism which is so much harped upon by modern scholars, is also misunderstood. Prof. N. N. Ghosh misguidedly describes him as 'a king who had been bitterly hostile to Buddhism.'[3] Dr. Law voices the same opinion though rather moderately : 'A man of Udayana's type and temperament could not but be hostile towards the religion and persons representing it'.[4] But it was not that Udayana was hostile towards Buddhists as a religious sect. His cruel behaviour towards Piṇḍola Bhāradvāja is mainly responsible for giving rise to such conclusions. But if we examine with an open mind the account of his unhappy encounter with the aforementioned sage we can find ulterior motives for his wrath. In the Mt J and the SNA accounts it is evident that he avenges himself upon Piṇḍola not because he, a Buddhist monk dared preach to his womenfolk, but because his women left him in order to listen to the other's discourse. For all that he cared, Piṇḍola could have been a Jain or a Brāhmaṇa preacher and his discourse might have been of that religion but he would undoubtedly, have baen tortured with equal cruelty even then. The SNA even suggests that the woman with whom Udayana

1. J. III, p. 384, No. 409.
2. Dvy, XXXVI, p. 538.
3. E. H. K., p. 22.
4. K. A. L., p. 16.

was left, out of jealousy poisoned his ears against Piṇḍola, maliciously insinuating that his women were enjoying themselves with a monk.[1] This was enough to infuriate a king of Udayana's vain and rash temperament.

Again in the Dh PA and the Dvy, he gets angry with Sāmāvatī only when he comes to believe through Māgandiyā's manoeuvres that Sāmāvatī cares more for Lord Buddha than for him. Even if we discredit the Dh PA version which would have us believe that Māgandiyā managed to convince Udayana that Sāmāvatī was conspiring to murder him,[2] it is difficult to waive off the Dvy evidence which shows that Anupamā managed to convince him that Śyāmāvatī cared more for the Buddha than for her husband for although she was not willing to do any killing for the latter, yet she did not hesitate in undertaking it for the former's meal. Then it was that Udayana got really angry with Śyāmāvatī and fixing the arrow in his bow, rushed to her apartments.[3]

No one, thus, can justifiably accuse Udayana of being hostile towards the Buddhist church in general and hence avenging himself on its followers. In fact, whenever he treats a Buddhist cruelly, some explanation of an ulterior kind, can be found for his unseemly behaviour.

To be just, inspite of the other faults, one meets with a most appreciable impartiality towards all religions in Udayana. His considerate behaviour towards Sāmāvatī as depicted in the Dh PA and the Dvy, indisputably proves it.

According to the Dh PA, when Māgandiyā made him notice the holes in the walls of Sāmāvatī's apartments through which the latter and her companions used to pay their homage to the Buddha, he only had the holes closed and the windows built higher but did not upbraid Sāmāvatī in any way.[4] Herein also, he was most probably motivated by a desire to preserve the propriety of his harem.

The Dvy relates that, 'once, when Udayana, Śyāmāvatī and Anupamā were sitting together, he happened to sneeze. Śyā-

1. SNA, p. 514.
2. Dh PA, i-Udv, p. 216.
3. Dvy, XXXVI, p. 530.
4. Dh PA, i-Udv.

māvatī uttered, 'I bow to the Buddha.' Anupamā bowed to the king. This made her point out to Udayana that Śyāmāvatī, inspite of feeding herself at his expense, was in the habit of bowing to Śramaṇa Gautama. But Udayana silenced her by explaining that Śyāmāvatī bowed to Buddha only because she was his 'Upāsikā'; there was nothing wrong in it."[1]

This tolerance towards his avowedly Buddhist queen, acquits Udayana of the charge of being bitterly hostile to Buddhism. There were at least two Buddhist members in his family. Of these, Sāmāvatī was his 'Aggamahesī'[2] and Bodhi was appointed the viceroy in Bhagga.[3] Thus it is evident that Udayana did not, in any way, differentiate between the Buddhist and non-Buddhist members of his family.

*Indifference towards religion in general*

But one has to admit that this religious impartiality and tolerance arose not so much out of his largeness of heart as from his indifference towards all faiths. Borrowing Dr. Barua's statement and changing only one word in it, we can justly conclude that 'a man of Udayana's type and temperament could not but be indifferent towards religion and persons representing it.' That is how he could tolerate members of his own family following other faiths than his own. He was so indifferent towards all his contemporary religions that he did nothing positive for any of them. It has been shown that the legend of the red sandalwood image cannot but be a fabrication. Even the Buddhists have not been imaginative enough to credit Udayana with the building of any monastery. Kauśāmbī abounded in Buddhist buildings but these are admitted to have been made by the merchant class.[4]

Inspite of his indifference towards all the contemporary religions, we find Udayana holding Lord Buddha in great esteem as a great personality of his times although not as a religious prophet. He specifically avows in the Dvy that he holds the Buddha in great respect.[5] He is often depicted as

1. Dvy, XXXVI, p. 529.
2. Dh PA, Udv, p. 191; Vm, XII, p. 381.
3. Vin, ii, p. 127; Maj., 85; J. III, p. 157, No. 353.
4. Dh PA, Udv, pp. 207-208.
5. Dvy, XXXVI, p. 538.

seeking the latter's advice on the important problems of his life and always following it. Some members of his family were ardent followers of Buddhism. This much can be safely concluded from the data available. To risk with the scholars any further conjecture beyond this about Udayana's leanings towards the Buddhist church, would be unwise. It is more than probable that like his forefathers, he remained an orthodox Hindu upto the end of his days as the Kashmirian BK recensions inform us. Not that he was as ardent a devotee of Lord Śiva as they would have us believe. It is unlikely that he observed fasts etcetera. As has been said before, he was rather indifferent towards religion in general. His adventures in the field of politics and romance did not leave him much spare time or energy to devote to religious problems. Moreover, his interest was concentrated on the material aspects of this life, such as women and power. Naturally, therefore, any religion was as good for him as another. Instead of troubling himself by pondering over and weighing the theological advantages of his contemporary religions, he, most probably, continued upto the and of his life, in the religion of his ancestors which was, most certainly, the orthodox Hindu religion.

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# CHAPTER VII

## UDAYANA : HIS END AND THEREAFTER

### *The unfortunate scantiness of information about Udayana's end*

It is our great misfortune that no reliable information about Udayana's last days and his death, is to be found in ancient Indian literature. The interest of the Prakrit authors is exhausted by the time he is reinstalled on the throne of Kauśāmbī after fleeing away from Pradyota's captivity. The last that we hear of him in Pali literature is shortly after the Mahāparinirvāṇa of the Buddha, at the time of the first Buddhist council when he is still a capable administrator[1]. All the Sanskrit dramas which have him for their hero, depict him in the prime of his life as befits the role of a dramatic hero.

Only the three recensions of the BK, give us some doubtful information about his end, undoubtedly because they have for their hero, Naravāhanadatta who was according to them, the only son of Udayana. However the BKŚS cannot help us much about the last days of Udayana because it is not available in its full form.

The two accounts given by the BKM and the KSS tally with each other to perfection as usual.

### *The BKM account*

According to the 'Vatseśvarabhrgupatanakathā' in the BKM, 'Some time after Udayana's departure with his wives and retinue for Kauśāmbī after having witnessed the coronation ceremony of Naravāhanadatta, the latter happens to have an evil dream in his sleep and wakes up feeling worried about his father. In the morning, he deputes his Prajñaptuvidyā to find out the real state of affairs at Kauśāmbī. She, accordingly reports to him that when Caṇḍamahāsena along with his wife, left this world for the heavenly abode, Udayana installed his younger brother-in-law Pālaka on the throne of Avanti. Then hastily indicating to Gopālaka, his elder brother-in-law

1. PVA, ii, 10, pp. 140-141.

by a movement of the eyebrows that the throne of Kauśāmbī was to be occupied by him, Vatsarāja went to the valley of the mountain Kālañjara. There, he with his two wives performed the worship of Lord Śiva and offered oblations to the god of Fire. Then, they went to the peak of the mountain, followed by the citizens of Kauśāmbī. Taking his lute in his lap, Udayana jumped from the mountain and was followed by his beloved wives, ministers and all his friends. The people of Kauśāmbī were, consequently, submerged in deep grief[1].'

*The KSS account*

The KSS gives the same version of Udayana's death but with greater details. Its 'Vatseśvarabhrgupatanakathā' relates : 'Naravāhanadatta dreams in the early hours of the morning that his father is being dragged towards the southern direction by a woman of a dark complexion. He wakes up instantly and as he is worried about his father, he summons his Prajñaptividyā and asks her about his father's welfare. She reports to him : "In Kauśāmbī, Vatsarāja learnt from a messenger from Ujjayinī that Vāsavadattā's parents, king Caṇḍamahāsena and queen Angāravatī had passed away. Stricken by grief, Udayana fell down on earth, unconscious. When he revived, he mourned with Vāsavadattā, the death of her parents. His ministeres tried to console him and succeeded in making him get up and offering water to the departed souls. Then he suggested to Gopālaka, his grief-stricken brother-in-law to go to Ujjayinī and to take hold of the reins of his hereditary kingdom. But Gopālaka began to weep at such a suggestion and protested that he could not leave his sister and her husband. Moreover he could not bring himself to visit Ujjayinī which was bereft of his father. Therefore, he suggested that his younger brother Pālaka should be anointed the king of Avantī with his permission and approval. When Gopālaka thus rejected the monarchy of Avantī, Rumaṇvān, the Commander-in-chief of Udayana, was sent to Ujjayinī to see to the installation of Pālaka, the younger prince of Avantī on his father's throne with the permission and approval of his elder brother Gopālaka.

'The death of his father-in-law made Udayana realise the transitoriness of this life and he held a consultation on this topic

1. BKM, XVIII, pp. 601-602.

with his ministers. Having come to the conclusion that their purpose in life was exhausted as they all had had their fill of the pleasures of this life, had vanquished their enemies and had successfully discharged their duties, they decided to commit suicide in unison as all of them were too old now. The mountain Kālañjara was chosen to be the place for the proposed suicide. Queen Vāsavadattā also decided to follow the same course herself. Then Udayana presented the kingdom of Kauśāmbī to Gopālaka, explaining to him that he was as much a son to him as Naravāhanadatta.

'Riding on an elephant and accompanied by his two wives Vāsavadattā and Padmāvatī and his ministers, Udayana set off towards Kālañjara. When he went out of Kauśāmbī, the people of Kauśāmbī were grief-stricken and tried to follow him. He assured them however that Gopālaka will protect them and will look after their interests as a dutiful king should. Still it was with difficulty that he persuaded them to return back to Kauśāmbī.

'On reaching the mountain Kālañjara, he climbed it along with his two wives and his ministers. Getting to the peak, he first bowed to Lord Śiva and then taking his beloved lute Ghoṣavatī in his hands and with his wives on either of his sides and surrounded by his ministers, he jumped from the peak of the mountain. He was followed by the others. As he was falling, a shining air chariot appeared all of a sudden and on it he went to the heavens alongwith all his followers.[1]"

*Information from the available portion of the BKŚS*

As the BKŚS is not available in a complete form, what it has to say on the important issue of Udayana's death cannot be known. We learn from it only that Pradyota the king of Avantī and Udayana's father-in-law died of Rājayakṣmā although his end was speeded by the death of his minister Bharatarohaka. Gopāla succeeded his father to the throne of Avantī at first. For some time after the death of Pradyota, Gopāla was king of Avantī and devoted himself to the well-being of his father's pet cows while his younger brother Pālaka acted as the crown-prince. The two sons of the old minister were appointed minis-

1. KSS, XVI, T. 1.

ters in their father's place and looked after the state affairs. Under these new arrangements, the country was well protected and prospered[1].

*The authenticity of the Kashmirian BK account*

According to the Kashmirian BK tradition, therefore, Udayana was so disheartened by the death of his father-in-law, Pradyota, (whenever that momentous event might have taken place), that along with his two wives and all his ministers, he committed suicide. Looking critically at this statement, however, one cannot help finding it a little absurd and, therefore, unacceptable. After all, we have no reason to believe that Udayana was so fond of his father-in-law, Pradyota, his sworn enemy not so long before, that he could not think of a life without him. Even if we are to believe that Pradyota's death made him realise the instability of this world, it is difficult to grant that this reason is weighty enough to make him commit suicide especially when it is a well-known fact that according to Hindu religious belief, those who take their life by their own hands, suffer innumerable tortures in hell. Th-re is scarcely any parallel case of a similar suicide in ancient Indian history or literature, obviously because suicide is unanimously and vehemently condemned by all the ancient religious authorities. The proposition does not fit in with our picture of Udayana's personality and temperament. Moreover, even if Udayana was eccentric enough to decide on such an improbable course, would it not have been more natural for him to have waited till he could bid farewell to his only son, Naravāhanadatta who, the two works admit, was not near him at that crucial time. The absurdity, however, does not end here when going to forsake his life, Udayana appoints Gopāla, the elder of his Āvantika brothers-in-law as his successor. When Udayana was blessed with a worthy son, fit for a king's role there is no reason for him to deviate from the normal course, specially when he was, once, so very anxious to have a son to succeed him to his property and ancestral throne. It is not natural for a king who was wailing not so long before,—"who will look after my wealth and my empire when I pass away, in the

1. BKŚS, canto 1, pp. 2-5.

absence of a son ?,"[1] to proffer all his cherished worldly goods to his brother-in-law without even once consulting his son. Moreover, his reason for taking this unusual course is the least to say, inadequate. He tells his brother-in-law that to him, his son Naravāhanadatta and Gopāla are equally dear as two sons.[2] But all the authorities maintain that Vāsavadattā was younger than both her brothers. In fact, Gopāla was the eldest of the three children of Pradyota.[3] Is it not rather incongruous then that Udayana treats his brother-in-law as his son, when the latter is claimed to be older than his wife ? Had Gopāla been younger to Vāsavadattā, we would not have found this reason to be so incongruous ?

These various incongruities in the Kashmirian account of Udayana's death make it appear, to say the least, not very acceptable. The BKŚS, moreover, asserts that after the death of Pradyota it was his elder son Gopāla who succeeded him to the throne of Avantī, in the beginning at least. Now as we have seen above, the Kashmirian recensions would have us believe that Gopāla who was in Kauśāmbī at the time of Pradyota's death, renounced the throne of Avantī when it fell to him by the law of heredity, and it was his younger brother Pālaka who was an immediate successor to Pradyota. As we have often concluded before, on the points of difference, the Nepalese recension is generally more reliable than its Kashmirian counterparts. Even if we are to believe that Udayana's death was a consequence of the death of his father-in-law Pradyota, the BKŚS flatly contradicts any statement which maintains that Gopāla renounced the throne of Avantī and for sometime, managed the kingdom of Vatsa. For all that we know, he might have succeeded Udayana to the throne of Kauśāmbī but ruled it from his seat at Ujjayinī. Therefore, in the face of such incongruities, it would be better not to accept unquestioningly, the Kashmirian BK account of Udayana's death. We had much better reserve ourselves to saying, in the absence of any other more decisive and authentic evidence on this point, that Udayana died at a ripe age when his

1. BKŚS, canto IV, p. 38.
2. KSS, XVI, T. 1, p. 528, Sls. 73–74.
3. KSS, ii, T. 3, p. 34, Sls. 74–79.

son was grown up enough to manage a state on his own. The manner of his death is not known.

Two things, however, stand out in the Kashmirian BK account of Udayana's death : (i) that Udayana's only son was not present at his father's deathbed and (ii) that Gopālaka, Udayana's elder brother-in-law and not Naravāhanadatta i.e. Udayana's son, succeeded to the throne of Kauśāmbī after Udayana's death. But this brings us to the much more important question of 'who succeeded Udayana to the throne of Kauśāmbī?

*The successor of Udayana*

As we have remarked above, neither literature nor other historical sources offer us any authentic information about the end of Udayana and the fate of Kauśāmbī after his death. Only the BK tradition keeps on telling the story of Udayana up to the end but all these works mix mythology and facts to such an extent that it is very difficult now to sift the whole material and to separate the grain of fact from the husk of fiction. Therefore the question, "who succeeded Udayana to the throne of Kauśāmbī", has been a real headache to historians for a long time. But in connection with this historical problem, we had better first find out the available facts about Udayana's progeny.

*The silence of the Prakrit literature about Udayana's issues*

The Prakrit literature, as we have said above, is not at all helpful about the details of the later half of Udayana's life. It does not concern itself with Udayana after his marriage to Vāsavadattā. And as Vāsavadattā was most probably Udayana's first wife, it is useless to rummage the Prakrit literature for any information about Udayana's progeny.

*The information contained in the Pali literature*

In the whole Pali literature, Udayana is credited with one son called Bodhi. Though nowhere is he specifically called Udayana's only son, yet the total absence of any other issue of Udayana in the Pali literature, naturally suggests that Bodhi was an only son of his father.

*Bodhi*

The important references to Bodhi Rājakumāra occur in the Maj, the Vin and the Dhs J apart from the commentaries on

these works as well as the Dh PA. The important facts that stand out in these accounts are :

(a) Bodhi was the son of Udena, king of Kosambī and his wife Vāsuladattā, daughter of king Caṇḍapajjota of Avantī.[1]

(b) In the lifetime of the Buddha, Bodhi lived at Sumsumāragiri in the Bhagga country, and had a magnificent palace built there, which was called Kokanada.[2] When the palace was completed, Buddha was staying at Bhesakalāvana nearby and Bodhi sent a message by Sañjikāputta, inviting the Lord to his new palace that he might bless it by being its first occupant. Buddha agreed to come and the next day, arrived with the monks for a meal. Bodhi came, with all his retinue, to meet them at the foot of the steps and asked the Lord to step on the carpeting which was spread there. Three times the request was made, three times the Lord kept silent. Thereupon, Ānanda asked for the carpeting to be removed, saying that Buddha's refusal to step thereon was meant to be an example to future generations. After the meal, Bodhi had a discussion with the Lord which is recorded in the Bodhirājakumāra Sutta.[3]

(c) Bodhi was skilled in the art of managing elephants, which art he had probably learnt from his father, a master in this direction,[4] as is well known.

(d) Bodhi was issueless, not was he destined to have any son in future because the MNA informs us that 'one of the Lord's reasons for refusing to step on the carpet was that he knew the thoughts of Bodhi. Bodhi was saying to himself, "If I am to have a son, the Lord will step on the carpet, otherwise not." The Buddha knew also that Bodhi was not destined to have a son because he and his wife had lived on an island and eaten young birds in a previous birth.'[5] The Dh PA adds that Buddha actually told Bodhi of the nonfulfilment of his wish for a son, and related to him the story of his past life in which he had committed the sin of eating birds' eggs.[6]

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1. Malalasekera : P. P. N. D., Vol II, p. 316; MNA on Maj. 85.
2. Maj, II, 85; Dhs J, J. III, p. 157, No. 353; Vin, ii, p. 127.
3. Vin, ii, p. 127; Maj, ii, 85, p. 91.
4. Maj, ii, p. 94.
5. MNA, ii, 739 f.
6. Dh PA, iii, p. 137 f.

(e) Some accounts of the building of Bodhi's palace add that as it was being completed, Bodhi conceived the idea of killing the architect or of blinding him so that he could never design another building like that. He confided his idea to Sañjikāputta who warned the architect. The latter availed himself of the timely warning and escaped with his family to the Himalayan country.[1] But according to a Jātaka story, Bodhi did actually blind the architect.[2]

(f) It is said in the Maj. that while Bodhi was yet in his mother's womb, she visited the Buddha at the Ghositārāma and declared that whatever child was born to her, it would accept the Lord, his teaching and the order as its abiding refuge. Later, after Bodhi's birth, his nurse took him to the Buddha at Bhesakalāvana and made a similar declaration. Thus when Bodhi acknowledged Lord Buddha as his teacher at the conclusion of the Bodhirājakumāra Sutta, he was seeking Buddha's refuge for the third time.[3]

That is all the information about Bodhi which is available in Pali literature.

### *The information available in the Sanskrit literature : Naravāhanadatta of the BK*

Now coming to the Sanskrit literature, we find that as only the BK recensions deal with Udayana's life after his romantic marriages, it is only in them that we find any useful information about Udayana's progeny. All the three recensions of the BK agree in crediting Udayana with only one issue, Naravāhanadatta. He is said to be Udayana's only child whose mother was, Udayana's favourite queen Vāsavadattā, princess of Avantī. He is also said to be born considerably late in Udayana's life. In fact, all the three works claim that for quite some time after his marriages with Vāsavadattā and Padmāvatī, Udayana remained issueless, and becoming anxious to obtain a son and to hear his wish granted he performed various sacrifices and practised hard austerities, including fasts. As a result, was born to him from Vāsavadattā, a handsome son who was des-

1. Dh PA iii, 134 ff.
2. J. iii, pp. 157–158, No. 353.
3. Maj, II, p. 97.

tined to be the emperor of the Vidyādharas. He was known by the name of 'Naravāhanadatta.'[1] But in the BK recensions, this son of Udayana, an only son according to them, developes into more a mythological figure than a historical one. His is an adventurous and romantic life in the course of which he gets married many times. Only one of these matrimonial alliances is noteworthy,—that with the daughter of king Prasenajit of Śrāvastī.[2] This could have been a historical fact as well. But the absence of any confirmation of it in ancient Indian literature, particularly in the Pali literature which pays quite some attention to Prasenajit and Udayana as two royal contemporaries of Lord Buddha, makes it rather difficult for us to accept its authenticity unreservedly. The BK tradition more firmly asserts Naravāhanadatta's anointment as the emperor of the Vidyādharas, shortly before Udayana's death.

The Sanskrit literature associates Udayana with two more issues. About one of them our sole informant is the Sk P.[3] According to it, Lalitā, undergoing a curse in the guise of a serpent, gave birth to a son of Udayana who was the latter's first issue. The last that we hear of this son of Udayana is when Jamadagni presents him to Sahasrānīka.[4] After this he is not found mentioned anywhere else. The authenticity of this information, has been previously shown to be rather doubtful.

According to an extract of the now unavailable Abhv, Padmāvatī was suspected of having murdered a son of Udayana.[5] No more details about this illfated individual are available; it is not known, for instance, how old he was at the time of his death, and was he Udayana's only son, i.e., Naravāhanadatta of the BK, or is he to be identified with Bodhirājakumāra of the Pali literature. However, one thing is definite. Even if

1. BKM, IV, pp. 105–114;
KSS, IV, T. 1 Sls. 1–3;
BKŚS, cantos IV, V, VI; pp. 38–46, 47–78, 79.
2. BKM, XIII, p 456, Sl. 84.
3. Sk P, iii, 1, 5.
4. Sk P, iii, 1, 5, Sl. 154.
5. 'The Abhv-a forgotten play of Viśākhadeva' by R. Ramamurti, J. O. R. M., Vol. II, April 1928.

the Abhv testimony is to be trusted about the murder of a son of Udayana, whether he was Udayana's only son or one of many; according to the same authority he died in Udayana's lifetime and therefore, can never be associated with the throne of Kauśāmbī.

That leaves only two sons of Udayana to be considered as successors of Udayana; (i) Naravāhanadatta of the BK and (ii) Bodhirājakumāra of the Buddhists.

*The Purāṇic tradition*

At this juncture, it becomes necessary to consult the Purāṇas about the successor of Udayana. Both the Mt and the Vs Purāṇas, the only two Purāṇas in which the precise name Udayana is found, give to his successor almost the same names, Vahīnara and Vihīnara. The Mt P, moreover, describes him as 'Vīra.'[1] But none of these works, specifically say that Vahīnara or Vihīnara was Udayana's son. As we have seen before in Chapter I entitled Age and Genealogy, the names of some kings of the Paurava dynasty, are absent in the Vy P. Among these are the two kings who would have corresponded to Udayana and Vahīnara (Vihīnara) of the Mt and the Vs Purāṇas.[2] Now, the Smd P makes Vahīnara, the successor of Durdamana, the Paurava king who corresponds to Udayana of the Mt P and the Vs P.[3] But it adds that Vahīnara was Durdamana's son. Now, in Chapter I we have stated that Durdamana was only a distortion of 'Udayana'.[4] It seems logical, therefore, to accept Vahīnara as the son and successor of Udayana, according to the Purāṇic tradition. The Mt, Vs and the Smd Purāṇas, name as Vahīnara's successor, Daṇḍapāṇi. In the Vy P, he is made an immediate successor of Medhāvin and also his son. According to the Mt P, however, Daṇḍapāṇi was Vahīnara's son. The Vs and the Smd Purāṇas do not say anything about Daṇḍapāṇi's relationship with his predecessor, Vahīnara. As we have already rejected the con-

1. Mt P, 50; Vs P, IV, 20, p. 198.
2. Vy P, 37, p. 141.
3. Smd P, IX, 22.
4. Chap. 1, 'Age and Genealogy' pp. 23, 24.

tention of the VyP that Vahīnara was Medhāvin's successor, it can safely be concluded on the basis of the Purāṇic information that Daṇḍapāṇi was the son and successor of Vahīnara. Daṇḍapāṇi is said to have been succeeded by Nirāmitra (Nimi of the SmdP and Nimitta of the VsP) who in his turn, was succeeded by Kṣemaka, according to all the Purāṇas which also inform us that with Kṣemaka, the long line of Paurava kings came to an end. Thus, all the four Purāṇas, viz., the MtP, VsP, SmdP, and VyP, significantly agree about the last three descendants of Arjuna, who were according to all of them, Daṇḍapāṇi, Nirāmitra (Nimi-Nimitta) and Kṣemaka.

### *Bodhirājakumāra*

As we have seen, the Pali literature is silent about the successor of Udayana although it states that Udayana was blessed with one son at least, Bodhi who grew up to be mature enough to be able to live upon his own in Bhagga, probably as a viceroy. It is nowhere stated in the Pali literature, positively or suggestively, that Bodhi actually reigned at Kauśāmbī as a successor to Udayana. Rhys Davids thinks it to be very significant that Bodhi is nowhere referred to as king Bodhi.[1] But this fact in itself, is not worth much because it can be explained away on the grounds that the Pali Pitakas were collated and made up of the sayings of Lord Buddha, by the monks in the Sattapaṇṇi cave at Rājagaha shortly after the Mahāparinibbāna of the Lord[2]. The PVA has made it clear that Udayana was quite hale and hearty at the time of the first Great Council[3]. Therefore, the Buddha, having died before Udayana, could not have, naturally, witnessed Bodhi installed on his hereditary throne of Kauśāmbī, if he, at all, succeeded his father. It is, thus, natural for Buddha and consequently for the compilers of his sayings, to allude to Bodhi as a prince only and not as a king. The only information of a political nature, about Bodhi is that he was most probably, the viceroy of the Bhagga province during his father's lifetime. He was also a wellknown expert in riding elephants and was evidently a capable prince and a worthy son. On the basis of these facts, Prof. Ghosh

1. Cambridge History of India, Vol. I, p. 187.
2. Cunningham's A. G. I., p. 187.
3. PVA, ii, 10, pp. 140–141.

concludes, "We are, therefore, entitled to assume on the authority of the Purāṇas (?) that Naravāhana-Bodhi was the second king of Kauśāmbī from Udayana."[1] He also does not hesitate in identifying Bodhi of the Buddhist Piṭakas with Vahīnara of the Purāṇas[2]. Yet the question is not so simple as that. The Pali evidence is not positive, either way, as Prof. Ghosh himself admits after gathering up all the available information about Bodhi.[3] Granted that there is no reason to suppose that Bodhi did not succeed his father to the throne of Kauśāmbī, yet there is no evidence either to make one suppose that he did succeed him. Moreover, Naravāhanadatta is depicted as a son of Udayana in the BK and not in the Purāṇas as Prof. Ghosh thinks. The Purāṇas give to Udayana's son the name of Vahīnara.

*Probability of Udayana's having more than one issue*

We have already seen in chapter IV, that Udayana almost certainly married more than once but his chief queens were only four.[4] This explains the BK contention of Naravāhanadatta's being called Udayana's only son. As the Abhv testimony leads us to suppose, Udayana, most probably, had a few more issues, but as Naravāhanadatta was his only son from all his chief queens, he is depicted as Udayana's only son in the BK.

*Naravāhanadatta and Bodhi*

Acording to the BK tradition, Naravāhanadatta was the only son of Udayana from Vāsavadattā. The Pali literature does not specifically say that Bodhi was the only son of Vāsavadattā but it does not mention any other son of hers. What is more natural then, than identifying Naravāhanadatta with Bodhi, like Prof. Ghosh ? Probably, the only son of Udayana and Vāsavadattā had two names or the two different literatures named him differently in accordance with their religious traditions.

*Vahīnara and Naravāhanadatta-Bodhi*

But the Purāṇas maintain that the successor of Udayana was Vahīnara (Vihīnara) and also suggest that he was Udaya-

1. E. H. K., p. 37.
2. Ibid., p. 38.
3. Ibid., p. 37.
4. Chap. IV, 'Other Romances in Udayana's Life', p.

na's son. Is he the same as the Naravāhanadatta-Bodhi of Sanskrit-Pali literatures or is he some other son of Udayana? Now, it seems more probable that Vahīnara of the Purāṇas is the same as Naravāhanadatta-Bodhi of the literary tradition. Because, although it is more than probable that Udayana had a few other sons also, yet they seem to be of an insignificant type. Their mothers also, most probably, did not command much importance. Naravāhanadatta-Bodhi on the other hand, had for his mother the most eminent queen of Udayana. He himself was a worthy son and well versed in the science of elephants and was most probably, the viceroy of a sturdy independence loving republic during his father's lifetime. We shall see presently, that any son of Udayana would have needed all these qualities plus a few more to assert his right to the throne of Kauśāmbī. Moreover, a resemblance, although of the slightest type, between the two names Naravāhanadatta and Vahīnara cannot be denied. It seems quite logical to accept, therefore, an identification Naravāhanadatta-Bodhi and Vahīnara.

*The successor of Udayana : Gopālaka or Naravādanadatta ?*

As we have seen before, the improbability of the Kashmirian account of Udayana's death, makes us rather hesitant about accepting it. Still, there must be some truth in the assertion that no son of Udayana was present at his deathbed. For all that we know about it Udayana might have sent Naravāhanadatta on some important mission to some faraway land from where he could not be brought back in time to be present at his fathers death.bed. Avantī being much nearer, Udayana might have sent for his brother-in-law Gopāla and entrusted him with the administration of Kausāmbī, till the rightful heir to the throne could come back to take charge. It is only a conjecture but all the same it is worth considering.

In a nutshell, the Pali literature does not say anything about the successor of Udayana. The Kashmirian BK tradition maintains that with the death of Udayana, the sovereignty of Kauśāmbī passed into the hands of the royal family of Ujjayinī. Only the Purāṇas stoutly maintain that four more descendants of Udayana reigned at Kauśāmbi after him. The problem

that faces us now, is to bring about an accepable agreement between the two contradictory statements. After all, we do not have any positive grounds to reject either of these two propositions although historians upto now have shown a marked preference for the Purāṇic account.

None of the literary testimonies that ascribe to Udayana a son, vouchsafe his succession to his father's kingdom, in the natural course of events. Therefore, it seems reasonable to accept the Kashmirian BK contention that Udayana's immediate successor to the throne of Kauśāmbī was Gopālaka, one of his Āvantika brothers-in-law. Probably as the heir presumptive was away from Udayana at the time of the latter's death, the kingdom of Kauśāmbī was entrusted to Gopālaka by Udayana himself, till Naravāhanadatta could come back to shoulder his responsibilities. Or, Gopālaka himself seized the throne of Kauśāmbī when after Udayana's death, he found it in a precarious condition because the heir presumptive was unfortunately not present on the spot. It is quite probable that Yaugandharāyaṇa, the capable minister had died before Udayana. What was more natural then, than Gopālaka's availing himself of this tempting opportunity ? After all, there had always existed a strong rivalry between the neighbouring states of Avantī and Vatsa. Only for some time after the romantic marriage of Udayana and Vāsavadattā, the feud must have lied down. And even that is doubtful. After all the Āvantikas could well have regarded the elopement of their princess with the sworn enemy in the light of an insult and so this event could even have fanned the fire of enmity although it is quite definite that for sometime at least, the Āvantikas did not manifest their grudge, probably because of their political interests. But that does not mean that all the time, they were not nursing their grievances in their hearts.

But what of the Purāṇic account then ? Did Vahīnara never become king of Kauśāmbī and was he not followed by three of his descendants ? Does the striking agreement on this point, amongst all the Purāṇas not stand for anything ? No one can assert that. It is quite probable that the Āvantika dynasty could retain the power for only a short time. Vahīnara, the heir-presumptive most probably, avenged the honour of his

family and seized again his hereditary sovereignty. Perhaps that is why the Matsya Purāṇa pays him especial attention and calls him brave.[1] As Kauśāmbī was a slave of Avantī for only a short time, no mention of this fact is to be found in the Purāṇas. Moreover, as they are giving the list of Arjuna's descendants, Gopālaka could not find a place in it. In those days of political upheavals, it is very probable that the kingdom of Vatsa changed masters once or twice within a short time. The likelihood of this supposition increases when we look critically at the information that the literary testimonies give us about the contemporary kingship of Avantī.

The Kashmirian BK recensions inform us that Gopālaka did not continue as a ruler of Kauśāmbī for long. According to them, he renounced worldly life altogether after entrusting the sovereignty to his younger brother Pālaka.[2] The available portion of the BKŚS does not tell us anything about the fate of Kauśāmbī but confirms the Kashmirian BK tradition that Gopāla continued in the worldly life as a king for a very short time. But it maintains that it was the sovereignty of Avantī that Gopāla ronounced in favour of his younger brother Pālaka.[3] Thus according to all the three BK recensions, Gopāla's reign ( whether in Kauśāmbī or in Avantī or in both ) lasted a very short time. The BKM and the KSS, positively and specifically state that although Gopālaka succeeded Udayana immediately after the latter's death, he reigned at Kauśāmb for a nominal time only. It is quite probable that if the complate BKŚS was available, it would have agreed on this point with its sister recensions because in it also, Naravāhanadatta is depicted as the emperor of the Vidyādharas and not as a ruler of Kauśāmbī. According to the BK tradition, Pālaka came after his elder brother but the BKŚS adds that he too reigned for a very short time and was succeeded by Avantivardhana, the son of Gopāla.[4]

The BK, as usual idealises the facts and depicts both Gopālaka and Pālaka resigning from the sovereignty willingly in

1. Mt P · Chap. 50, 'Vīro rājā Vahīnaraḥ'
2. BKM . XVIII, p. 605, KSS : XVI, 1.
3. BKŚS, 1, pp. 8–11, App. 9.
4. BKŚS, ii, pp. 20–21, App. 10.

favour of their successors. A truer-to-life version of these happenings is given by the Mṛcchakaṭika of Śūdraka. Its subplot depicts a revolution, headed by Gopāladāraka Āryaka to overthrow Pālaka the king of Ujjayinī which succeeded in the long run. According to Prof. Karmarkar, "There is no doubt that the expression Gopāladāraka in the play has been mistakenly taken to mean 'a cow-herd boy' as it should really mean 'the son of Gopāla'. So that Pālaka's anxiety to keep Āryaka, his nephew, out of the way is easily understandable. Gopāla and Pālaka are known to be real historical personages ( about 500 B. C. ) and the poet may have been indebted to some work for the story of the revolution ( or, more possibly, he might be describing some historical event under this garb.)"[1]

In the light of the information supplied by the Mṛcchakaṭika, it seems probable that Pālaka snatched the sovereignty of Avantī from his elder brother Gopālaka. But when the latter's son Avantivardhana ( Āryaka in the Mṛcchakaṭika ) grew up, he paid back the usurper in the same coin and heading a revolution, asserted his right to the throne of Avantī.

Keeping in view these interesting developments at Avantī after Pradyota's death, what course the events took at Kauśāmbī after the death of Udayana can easily be guessed with a little imagination. After the death of Udayana, his prosperous kingdom passed into the hand of the king of Avanti who was most probably Gopālaka, either with Udayana's approval or without it. The absence of Udayana's heir presumptive at his deathbed must have made the task considerably easier for Gopālaka. But the government of Avantī also was not a stable one. The kingship was repeatedly changing hands. Vahīnara, the rightful heir to the throne of Kauśambī, took advantage of this situation and won back his hereditary sovereignty from the Āvantika princes. Kauśāmbī remained in the possession of Pradyota's descendants for a nominal time only, most probably; therefore, this fact is not found recorded in the Purāṇas.

The power remained in the hands of the descendants of Vahīnara for some time more after his death. He was succeeded by three of his descents, viz., Daṇḍapāṇi, Nirāmitra

1. R. D. Karmakar : Introduction to Mṛcchakaṭika, p. xii.

( Nimi–Nimitta ) and Ksemaka who continued to reign, probably unobtrusively, in the Vatsa state. With the last named, viz., Ksemaka, according to Pargiter[1] the long line of Puru kings came to an end. After Ksemaka, no king of Kauśāmbī figures in the Purāṇic lists of dynasties. This probably means the extinction of Kauśāmbī's independence. After Kṣemaka, Kauśāmbī was most probably absorbed in the overpowering and growing Nanda empire.

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1. Dynasties of the Kali Age, p. 66.

## CHAPTER VIII

### KAUŚĀMBĪ THE CAPITAL OF KING UDAYANA

No story of king Udayana can ever be complete without dealing with his capital Kauśāmbī—a ciiy matching him in its importance in ancient Indian literature and history. Moreover, its importance dates back a long time before Udayana came into being. It is commonly known from Pali canon as a Buddhist town, being the capital of the Vatsa king Udayana. But there are conclusive proofs of the fact that Kauśāmbī was wellknown as a city even in the Vedic period. Its high antiquity makes one decide that it was not Kauśāmbī which derived its greatness and fame from its famous king Udayana but that it was rather the other way round and that it was Kauśāmbī which lent its eminence in the beginning to Udayana who later on acquired popularity and fame on his own also. Then, it was that Kauśāmbī basked in the glory of its great king. In fact both the king and the capital mutually benefitted from the greatness and eminence of each other.

#### *Foundation of Kauśāmbī*

Three different traditional accounts of the origin of the city of Kāuśāmbī are available in ancient Indian literature. The Mahābhārata attributes the foundation of the city of Kauśāmbī to prince Kuśāmba who was the third son of the Cedi king Uparicara Vasu. According to it "King Uparicara Vasu who belonged to the Paurava dynasty, was very fond of hunting. He conquered the beautiful Cedi country on the advice of Indra. Thereafter he established himself at Cedi and began to reign thereafter worshipping Indra. He was blessed with five sons of matchless valour. They were called Bṛhadratha, Pratyagraha, Kuśāmba, Māvella and Yadu. Each of them was, by their father, installed over a new kingdom which became famous after his name."[1] As Prof. N. N. Ghosh says, "The reference is at best a faint one and can be used only inferenti-

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1. Mahābhārata Ādi Parva, Chap. 63.

ally."[1] Only about the eldest prince Bṛhadratha, it is specifically said that he became famous in Magadha.

A clearer and more definite account of the foundation of Kauśāmbī is found in the Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmīki.

"Once upon a time, Rsi Viśvāmitra, accompanied by Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa, halted in the evening at a pleasant spot on his way to Mithilā after the destruction of the demon Mārīca and his followers, and recounted to his royal wards, the following story about their halting place. 'Long ago, there was a king named Kuśa, devoted to sacred rites and religion. His wife was named Vaidarbhī. He was blessed with four sons who were named Kuśāmba, Kuśanābha, Ādhūrtarajasa and Vasu. One day Kuśa sent for his sons and asked them to found new kingdoms and earn Ksatriya virtue by ruling them. Accordingly, each one of the four princes separately founded four towns. The powerful Kuśāmba founded the city Kauśāmbī, Kusanābha founded Mahodaya, Ādhūrtarajasa founded Dharmāraṇya and to Vasu goes the credit of founding Girivraja'."[2]

These two accounts of the founding of Kauśāmbī come to us from the Sanskrit literature. The third account is found in the Pali literature. According to Vamsatthappakāsinī, the commentary on the Mahāvamsa, 'various dynasties of the kings of the solar clan from Mahāsammata to Suddhodana, father of Gautama Buddha, reigned severally in succession in the following nineteen cities: Kusāvatī, Ayujjhapura, Bārāṇasī, Kapilapura ( obviously Kapilavastu ), Hatthipura ( Hastināpura ), Ekacakkhu, Vajiravutti, Madhurā ( i.e. Mathura ) Ariṭṭhapura, Indapattha (Indraprastha obviously), Kosambī (Kauśāmbī), Kaṇṇagocca, Roja, Campā, Mithilā, Rājagaha, Takkasilā, Kusinārā and Tāmalitti.[3] "The suggestion throughout is that the city used as capital was founded by its originator, the first king of the family."[4] As regards Kosambī, we are definitely informed that fourteen kings headed by Baladatta reigned in it. All of them were pre-Ikṣvāku kings of the solar clan.[5]

1. E. H. K., p. 2.
2. Rāmāyaṇa, Bāla Kānda, 32, 1–8.
3. Vaṃsatthappakāsinī, I, p. 130.
4. Dr. B. C. Law, K. A. L., p. 2; Vaṃsatthappakāsinī, I, p. 130.
5. Vaṃsatthappakāsinī, I, pp. 128, 130.

On summing up and comparing these three different accounts of the founding of Kauśāmbī, we find that the Pali tradition recorded in the Vamsatthappakāsinī differs from the accounts of the Sanskrit epics in two respects: (a) The Pali tradition holds Baladatta to be the founder and first king of Kauśāmbī whereas according to the epics it was Prince Kuśāmba to whom the credit should go for founding Kauśāmbī and being its first ruler. In fact, the epics hold that Kauśāmbī derived its name from its founder Kuśāmba. (b) According to the Vaṃsatthappakāsinī, the cities are said to have been founded successively whereas the epics hold that four or five cities sprang into existence simultaneously. This second controversy is immaterial to us because firstly, we are concerned only with the founding of Kauśāmbī and secondly, because of all the cities which are mentioned in the Mahāvaṃsa commentary, only the founding of Rājagṛha is mentioned in the Rāmāyaṇa and there too, the name is given as Girivraja. It is quite probable that Girivraja's transition into Rajagṛha took place later and therefore not simultaneously with the founding of Kauśāmbī.

About the founder of Kauśāmbī, all the accounts agree that he was a prince who also reigned as its first king. The epic traditions agree further about him that his name was Kuśāmba and Kauśāmbī was named after him. They differ, however, about the identity of prince Kuśāmba. According to the Rāmāyaṇa, he was the eldest son of an ancient king named Kuśa whereas the Mahābhārata holds that he was the third son of Uparicara Vasu who was of the Paurava dynasty and was at that time reigning in the Cedi country.

A reference to Kauśāmbī in the Kāśikā of Jayāditya, makes it clear that he also believed that the name of its founder was Kuśāmba. As an illustration of Pāṇini's rule IV.2.68 i.e, *tena nirvṛttam*, the following derivation of Kauśāmbī is given 'Kuśāmbena nirvrttā Kauśāmbī nagarī', 'the city of Kauśāmbī so named because it was laid out by Kuśāmba.'[1]

There is plenty of data available about Kauśāmbī in some of the oldest and most important Purāṇas also. In fact, all the four Purāṇas, i.e., the Mtp, the Smd P, the Vs P and the Vy P

1. Kāśikā, pp. 399–400.

which give a dynastic list of the Paurava kings of Udayana's ancestry, give corroborative evidence as to how Kauśāmbī became the capital of the Bhārata kings. According to all of them, it was an ancestor of Udayana who made Kauśāmbī his capital when the former capital Hastināpura was swept away by a flood in the Ganges. He is variously called Vivakṣu (Nicaksu), Nemicakra, Nicaknu and Nirvaktra respectively by the Mt P, the Smd P, the Vs P and the Vy P. According to them, he is respectively the fifth, the seventh, the sixth and the sixth king in descent from Parīksit; upwards from Udayana, he is the twentieth king according to the Mt and the Smd Purāṇas and the nineteenth according to the Vs P.[1]

Fortunately for us, these Purāṇic accounts wonderfully agree with one another in details, barring slight discrepancies. Their testimony, therefore, is quite reliable and hence worth consideration. Moreover, it does not clash with that of the epics because nowhere in all these accounts, is it suggested that the Paurava king who shifted the capital from Hastināpura to Kauśāmbī, also founded it. We can safely conclude that Kauśāmbī already existed as a city to tempt him to remove his capital there. Of course, improvements and probably enlargements of the place were made after it had become the capital of the mighty Kuru kings. But that the place existed as an important town under the name of Kauśāmbī at the time of the shifting of the Paurava capital, is clear from these Purāṇic accounts.

Thus we find that the Purāṇas do not contradict the statement of the epics about the foundation of Kauśāmbī. The controversy now exists between the Sanskrit tradition on one side and the Pali tradition on the other. It is difficult to decide which is the more authentic version between those of the two traditions but one is rather inclined to favour the version offered by the Sanskrit tradition as it is decidedly of a much earlier date. Moreover, it seems quite acceptable that the city derived its name from its founder king and lends quite same weight to the stand of the Sanskrit literature as against that of the Pali

1. The Mt p, Chap. 50 : 56–87; Smd P, IX, 22, 33–44; Vs P, 4 : 20; Vy P, 99 : 249–277.

literature which is comparatively of much later times and hence less authentic.

*Kauśāmbī—the name*

As we heve just seen, according to the Sanskrit tradition, the city of Kauśāmbī was named after its founder. But it is only one explanation of the name. We have also seen that the Pali tradition does not believe that Kauśāmbī's founder was called Kuśāmba and that the city derived its name from him. Then how does the Pali literature explain the naming of the city of Kauśāmbī.

The Pali literature offers two explanations of it, and both seem quite logical. One derivation that is offered is obviously reached at by the application of '*tasya Nivāsaḥ*', Pāṇini's rule V.2.69. According to the SNA, Kosambī was so named because it was originally the dwelling place of Kosamba, the sage, just as Sāvatthī and Kākandi were so named because these were the residences of respectively the sage Savattha, and the sage Kākanada."[1]

The Saddhammapakāsinī, the cammentary on the Paṭisambhidāmagga[2] and the MNA[3] offer another derivation of 'Kosambī'. According to these 'the city came to be called Kosambī because in founding it, the Kosomba trees were uprooted here and there. But these commentaries also admit and the UdA supports them that 'according to some people, it was so named because it was built not far from the hermitage of a ṛṣi named Kusāmba.' Obviously, Buddhaghosa, the writer of these commentaries met two Pali traditions which were prevalent in his times, about the derivation of the name Kosambī. Not being able to choose between the two, he recorded both.

The Prakrit literature suggests a third explanation of the origin of the name 'Kosāmbī.' According to this Prakrit tradition, Kosambī was so named because it abounded in huge and shady Kosamba trees.[4]

1. SNA, II, 1, p. 300.
2. Pts A, 92 Yuganandhakathāvaṇṇanā, p. 583.
3. MNA : II, 3. 48, pp. 389–390.
4. Vtk : 12 Ksbnk, p. 23.

Thus, apart foom the Sanskrit tradition about the derivation of the name 'Kauśāmbī', we find no less than three other derivations of it. Of these the Pali tradition offers two and the Prakrit tradition offers the third. All of these seem quite rational and therefore it again becomes difficult to choose a particular one from amonget all the four. But one is again in favour of the Sanskrit tradition which is of a much earlier date than the others and hence probably more authentic although it is to be admitted that the others can be as correct as it or even more. Dr. B.C. Law considers the second derivation of 'Kosambī' quite important because it shows that the Pali Commentorial tradition differs from the epic in that it seeks to suggest that Kosambī was at first a hermitage or religious settlement, around which the city grew up subsequently.[1] But as we have already seen, the Pali commentorial tradition at one place agrees with the Sanskrit tradition about the foundation of Kauśāmbī while at the other it seems to contradict it. This contradiction in itself considerably weakens the case of the Pali tradition.

*Antiquity*

The earliest references to Kauśāmbī as a prominent city are found in the Brāhmaṇa literature which speaks of times older than the Pali canon, the text of which abounds in references to Kauśāmbī as a wellknown city in Northern India, as the capital of the Vatsa country and as the kingdom of the Vatsa king Udayana. The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, for instance, mentions Proti Kausurubindi as the pupil undergoing brahmacarya under the ācārya who was no less a person than the famous philosopher of Upaniṣadic fame, Uddālaka Āruṇi and states that Kausurubindi was a Kauśāmbeya.[2] Harisvāmin, the commentator explains Kauśāmbeya as a local epithet which means 'a native of Kauśāmbī.' The Gopatha Brāhmaṇa contains the same reference though it gives the name of the pupil a little differently, calling him 'Predi Kausurabindu.'[3] Its commentary gives a different explanation of the epithet 'Kauśāmbeya' also, saying that it means 'a son of Kauśāmbī'. But of

1. K. A. L., p. 2.
2. Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, XII ( 2. 2. 13 ).
3. Gopatha Brāhmaṇa, 1 ( 4. 24 ).

these two interpretations of 'Kauśāmbeya', one is rather inclined to favour that of Harisvāmin, according to which, 'Kausāmbeya' means a native of Kausāmbī, because it is borne out by the use of its Prakrit form 'Kosambeyaka' in one of the Bharhut inscriptions where according to Dr. B. C. Law, "it is employed to mean nothing but 'a person from Kauśāmbī'."[1] This reason makes Dr. Law decide in favour of Harisvāmin's interpretation.[2]

The lower limit of the composition of the Vedas, has been fixed at 800 B.C. by Winternitz.[3] The Śatapatha and the Gopatha Brāhmaṇas, most probably, were written considerably earlier than it. As Kauśāmbī existed as a full-fledged city when these two Brāhmaṇas were composed, its existence can be traced back to hoary antiquity long anterior to the time of Lord Buddha who flourished in the 6th century B.C.

Kauśāmbī's existence in the Pre-Buddhist era is also borne out by the Purāṇas. As we have already seen, according to the Mt, the Smd and the Vs Purāṇas, it was the nineteenth or the twentieth Paurava king upwards from Udayana who shifted his capital from Hastināpura to Kauśāmbī when the former capital was carried away by the Ganges. Kauśāmbī, at that time, must have been at least a ready made city if not a well developed one, to tempt him to make it his capital. The convenience of the shift through the Yamunā, was, most probably, mainly responsible for the choice of the new capital. It is quite probable that before the Pauravas, kings of some other dynasties had already had their periods of reign at Kauśāmbī. At least one dynasty, viz., that of its founder Kuśāmba, had held its sway there. Udayana being a contemporary of Lord Buddha, it is evident that Kauśāmbī was founded quite early in the Pre-Buddhist era. It is, therefore, not possible to doubt its antiquity in the face of such a weighty evidence.

Other important references to Kauśāmbī in the Sanskrit literature, are found in Patañjali's Mahābhāṣya and in all the three recensions of the BK.

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1. K. A. L., p. 1.
2. *Ibid.*
3. Winternitz : H. I. L., Vol. I, p. 258.

Patañjali refers to it in his Mahābhāṣya ( belonging to the time of the Śuṅga emperors ) when he is illustrating one of Kātyāyana's ( 350 B. C. ) Vārttikas on *'Kugati-Prādayaḥ'*, Pāṇini's Sūtra II.1.18. The Vārttika runs thus. *"Nirādayaḥ krāntādyarthe pañcamyāḥ"*—meaniug 'the prefix 'niḥ' etcetera are added to denote departure from a place to be named in the fifth case.' Patañjali illustrates this Vārttika by the following two examples: Niṣkauśāmbiḥ,–'one who has passed beyond Kauśāmbī' and Nirvārāṇasiḥ,–'one who has passed beyond Vārāṇasī'.

The references to Kauśāmbī which are found in the BK recensions tell us that Kauśāmbī was a very prosperous city. According to the BKM, 'it was very beautiful and blessed as if it was a form of the splendour of Lord Śiva'.[1] The KSS informs us that 'there was a country of the name of Vatsa which was a fit match for the heaven itself. In the middle of Vatsa, there was a great city which was known as Kauśāmbī'.[2] The BKŚS also extravagantly praises the splendour of Kauśāmbī which according to it, 'was situated in the Vatsa country on the banks of the river Yamunā and was the heart of the world itself.'[3]

In addition to the references to Kauśāmbī dealt with above which speak of its remote antiquity, the name of the city occurs countless times in the Pāli Piṭakas, the Jātakas, in the later non-canonical Buddhist literature; often in the Prakrit literature and quite some times in the accounts of the travels of the Chinese pilgrim Fa-hien and Hiuen Tsang. As Udayana was an eminent contemporary of Lord Buddha and Lord Mahavīra, a clear picture of Kauśāmbī as his capital can be drawn from these references.

That Kauśāmbī was a great city in the time of the Buddha, is evident from a conversation between Lord Buddha and his chief disciple Ānanda in the Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta of the Dīgha Nikāya. According to it, 'when Buddha expressed his desire to die in Kusinārā, Ānanda protested: "Let not the exalted one die in this wattle and daub town in the midst of

1. BKM, II Kthm L, 61, p. 33.
2. KSS, II Kthm L, p. 24, Sls. 4–5.
3. BKŚS, Canto IV, p. 35.

the jungle, in this branch township. For, O Master, there are other great cities such as Campā, Rājagaha, Sāvatthī, Sāketa, Kosambī and Bārāṇasī".[1] It is clear from this reference to Kosambī that in the time of Lord Buddha and hence in the time of Udayana, Kauśāmbī was included amongst the six foremost cities of India.

It is also clear from some of the references that Kauśāmbī was the capital of the Vatsa country. As we have seen above, the KSS and the BKŚS both say clearly that Kauśāmbī was the capital of the Vatsa country. In the Trikāṇḍaśeṣa, Kauśāmbī is described as 'Vatsa-paṭṭaṇa' which means 'the capital of Vatsa !'[2] In two of the Jātakas also it is said to be the capital of the Vatsa country.[3] These references to Kauśāmbī in ancient Indian literature assert that in the beginning upto the time of king Udayana, Kauśāmbī was popular as the name of the capital of the Vatsa country. But some later references to Kauśāmbī, describe it as a political unit rather than as a mere city. For instance, in the inscription of Yaśapāla dated Saṃvat 1093, Kauśāmbī is mentioned as 'Kosambamaṇḍala.[4] It seems that in Hiuen Tsang's time, both the traditions were prevalent and that he was confused by them for whereas at one place, he describes Kauśāmbī as "the capital of the Vatsa (fu-two', meaning calf in Chinese) country",[5] in the other, he represents Kauśāmbī (Kiao- shang-mi) rather as a country with a capital of the same name.[6] He says that the country or the kingdom of Kauśāmbī was above 6000 li (1200 miles) and its capital (i.e., the city of Kauśāmbī) was above 30 li ( 6 miles ) in circuit.

*Situation*

Thus all the ancient Indian testimonies inform us that Kauśāmbī was situated in the Vatsa country. The KSS further specifies it by saying that it was at the centre of Vatsa. There

1. DN : xvi Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta, p. 146, XVII Mahāsudassana Suttanta P. 169.
2. Trikāṇḍaśeṣa, 2. 1. 14; K. A. L., p. 3.
3. J IV, p. 28, 444; VI, p. 236, 544.
4. Asiatic Researches, Vol ix, pp. 440-41; J. A. S. B., Vol. V. p. 731, A. S. I. R. Vol. I, pp. 302-303.
5. Watters : Yuan Chwang, I, pp. 365-66.
6. Ibid., I, p. 368.

are some further details available about its situation. Most of the authorities state that Kauśāmbī was situated on the banks of the Yamunā. But the Sy N describes it as situated on the banks of the Ganges.[1] The Vtk agrees with the BKŚS about the situation of Kauśāmbī. It describes Kausāmbī as "where the forests are embraced by the waves of the water of the river Kālindī"[2] which is just another name for Yamunā. In the Pali literature itself, it is often stated that Kauśāmbī was situated on the banks of the Yamunā and not on those of the Ganges. The MNA, ANA and the Patisambhidāmagga Atthakathā give the legend of Bakkula who was the son of a banker of Kosambī. The legend goes that the infant Bakkula was born at Kosambī in the family of Kosambiya Seṭṭhī and he was daily taken to the Yamunā for the performance of the sacred rites. In the times of the Buddha, there lived near the ferry at Kosambī, a powerful Nāga king who was the reincarnation of a former ship's Captain. One day while Bakkula's mother was bathing in the Yamunā, the infant accidently fell into the river and was swallowed by a big fish.[3] It is also learnt from these accounts that Kosambī was thirty leagues by river Yamunā from Banaras because it is said here that "when the fish swallowed the child, it began to burn because of the supernatural powers of him and swiftly covering the distance of thirty leagues reached Bārāṇasī where it was caught in a net spread by the fishermen of that city."[4] On the grounds of the information received from the legend of Bakkula, Malalasekera rejects the Sy N statement that Kosambī was situated on the banks of the Ganges, saying "It is either an error or here, the name Gaṅgā refers not to the Ganges but to the Yamunā:"[5] General Cunningham also decides that "The legend of Bakkula is sufficent to prove that the city of Kauśāmbī was situated on the Yamunā."[6]

According to the SN[7], the route from Mahissati to Rājagaha passed through Kosambī, the halting places being Ujjenī, Go-

1. Sy N, IV, Dārukkhandha 1, p. 179.
2. Vtk 12 Ksbnk, p. 23.
3. ANA, i, p. 179; Pts A, p. 491; MNA, ii, p. 929.
4. Pts A, 211 Iddhikathāvaṇṇanā, p. 667.
5. Malalasekera, P. P. N. Dictionary, Vol. I, p. 694.
6. A. S. R. Vol. I. 1871, pp. 451–452.
7 SN Vimānavatthu, 1010–1013, p. 194.

naddha, Vedisā, Vanasavhya, Kosambī, Sāketa, Sāvatthi, Setavyā, Kapilavatthu, Kusinārā, Pāvā, Bhoganagara and Vesāli. The Vin, however, gives also the description of a somewhat different route which passed through Anupiya and Kosambī to Rājagaha.[1] But according to a reference in the Cullavagga, the usual route from Rājagaha to Kosambī was up the river. When Ānanda was entrusted with the responsibility of imposing the 'Brahma-daṇḍa' on Channa Bhikkhu, he alongwith five hundred Bhikkhus went from Rājagaha to Kosambī by boat.[2] According to another reference in the Vin, Kosambī was the most important halt for traffic coming to Kosala and Magadha from the south and the west. This is illustrated in the flight of Jīvaka Komārabhacca from Ujjenī to Rājagaha.[3]

On the basis of these references, Prof. N. N. Ghosh concludes, "We can gather from the Vinaya Texts that the terminus of the main river route from east to west was Kauśāmbī. Sahajāti was its nearest river station down the Yamunā, near the confluence."[4] According to Rhys Davids, "Situated on the banks of the Yamunā, it was a rich commercial city at that time. Like Taxilā, Śrāvastī, Vārāṇasī, Rājagṛha and Vaiśālī, Kauśāmbī was a wealthy city in which millionaire merchants, lesser merchants and middle men resided."[5] He further concludes that "Roads coming from the Northwest and the Southwest also converged on Kauśāmbī for import and export of goods from those quarters. Thus Kauśāmbī was in the time of the Buddha the greatest river port for import and export of goods for the whole of North and Mid-India and had commercial relations even with Burmā !"[6] Dr. B. C. Law also believes in the importance of Kauśāmbī as a trade centre," with such facilities of communications, north, south, east and west, both by land and river routes, Kausāmbī could not but be an important centre or emporium of inland trade of ancient India."[7]

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1. Vin, ii, p. 184.
2. Vin, ii, p. 290 ( Cullavagga ).
3. Ibid., i, p. 277.
4. E. H. K., p. 8.
5. N. N. Ghosh : E. H. K., p. 7 ( Buddhist India, p. 102 ).
6. Ibid., p. 8.
7. K. A. L., p. 5 ( Buddhist India p. 102 ).

### *Kauśāmbī and Buddhism*

The Buddhist tradition, as we noted earlier, speaks of an ancient hermitage of a sage called Kosamba, near which was built the city of Kauśāmbī. It is difficult to decide how far we can trust this contention of the Buddhists. But as to the introduction of Buddhism at Kauśāmbī, we have definite information that it was due to the eagerness of persons belonging to the merchant class.

In Lord Buddha's times, there were four establishments of the order in Kosambī viz., The Kukkuṭārāma, the Ghositārāma, the Pāvāriyāmbavana ( these being donated by three of the foremost citizens of Kosambī ) and the Badarikārāma. This information comes to us from Buddhaghosa. According to him 'the three banker friends Ghosita, Kukkuṭa and Pāvāriya were the three business magnates of Kosambī in Lord Buddha's times. Learning once of the Lord's coming to this world, all of them went on the backs of elephants from Kosambī to Sāvatthi to wait upon Buddha who was at that time staying at Jetavana, and it was to keep their invitation that the Lord agreed to visit their hometown Kosambī. But there was a condition attached to his acquiescence. The Tathāgatas made their abodes only at the places which were not inhabitated by any other mortal. When they came to know of it, each of the three bankers built a suitable retreat for the Buddha and his disciples at the cost of a large sum of money, in the neighbourhood of the city of Kosambī. Each of these three monastic establishments was named after its donor and builder."[1] Thus Ghositārāma built and donated by the banker Ghositaseṭṭhī, Kukkuṭārāma by the banker Kukkuṭaseṭṭhī and Pāvāriyāmbavana (Pāvāriya's Mango-grove ) were the three most important centres of Buddhism that grew up in the neighbourhood of Kosambī in Lord Buddha's and hence Udayana's times. It is clear, thus, that it was at an invitation from these wealthy bankers of Kosambī, viz., Ghosita, Kukkuṭa and Pāvāriya that the Lord paid his first visit to Kosambī, the land of the Vatsas. But he does not appear to have visited it before the sixth year of his ministry. For, from Sāvatthī where he had received the personal invitation of the three bankers, he travelled back to Kapila-

1. Dh PA, i, Udv, pp. 203–205; Sumaṅgalavilāsinī, i. pp. 317–319.

-vatthu where he spent the rains. From Kapilavatthu, he journeyed to Vesāli and Rājagaha and from Rājagaha he walked to Vārāṇasī from which place he started for Kosambī. We can say definitely that the three hermitages dedicated by these bankers, served as the first centre of Buddhist activity in Kosambī.

The Tipallatthamiga Jātaka and the Tittira Jātaka refer to another Buddhist retreat in or near Kosambī which was known by the name of Badarikārāma[1]. The Lord is also mentioned as having once stayed in the Simsapāvana at Kosambī[2]. In fact, Buddha visited Kosambī on several occasions, stopping at one or other of these monastic establishments and several of his discourses delivered during these visits, are recorded in the books. It is certain that he spent his ninth rainy season in Kosambī and it was on his way there that Māgandiyā was offered to him, was refused by him and thereafter bore a grudge to him in her heart which later made her avenge herself on Sāmāvatī.[3]

It is difficult to say how many times Lord Buddha visited the city and sojourned in the territory of king Udayana. But one can be definite about two of his visits out of, probably, many. The first of these visits happened in the sixth year of his ministry when he visited Kauśāmbī at the invitation of the three bankers. In the beginning he could not have enjoyed the royal patronage. According to Prof. N. N. Ghosh, it was during this visit that Māgandiyā's machinations to eliminate Sāmāvatī, succeeded[4]. But in view of the fact that it was during the ninth year of Buddha's ministry that Māgandiyā was offered to him in marriage and on his refusal was married to Udayana, Prof. Ghosh's surmise hardly seems probable.

The second visit of the Lord, during which he most probably delivered the Kosambiya Sutta, occurred according to all the authorities, about the ninth year of his ministry.

Of the Suttas that the Lord delivered at Kosambī, the most famous are the Kosambiya Sutta, the Sandaka Sutta and the

1. J, I, p. 160; III, p. 64.
2. SN, V. 437.
3 Dh PA, i-199, iii-193, iv-1; Udāna, vii. 10.
4. E. H. K., pp. 23-24.

Upakkilesa Sutta. The story of the Kosambiya Sutta goes thus "A great schism once arose among the monks in Kosambī. Some monks charged one of their colleagues with having committed an offence, but he refused to acknowledge the charge and being himself learned in the Vinaya, argued his case and pleaded that the charge be dismissed. The rules were complicated, on the one hand, the monk had broken a rule and was to be treated as an offender but on the other, he should not have been so treated if he could not see that he had done wrong, The monk was eventually ex-communicated and this brought about a great dissension in the monastery. When the matter was reported to the Lord, he admonished the partisans of both the sides and urged them to give up their differences but they paid no heed and even blows were exchanged. The people of Kosambī becoming angry at the monk's behaviour, the quarrel grew apace. The Lord once more counselled concord, relating to the monks the story of king Dīghiti of Kosala but his efforts at reconciliation were of no avail, one of the monks actually asking him to leave them to settle their differences without his interference. In disgust, Lord Buddha left Kosambī and journeying through Bālakaloṇakāragāma and the Pācīnavanadāya, retired alone in the Pārileyyaka forest. In the meantime, the monks of both the parties repented, partly owing to the pressure exerted by their lay followers in Kosambī and coming to the Lord at Sāvatthi, they asked for his pardon and settled their dispute according to his advice.[1] According to the Sy N the reason of Buddha's going to the forest was that he found Kosambī uncomfortable owing to the vast number of monks, lay people and heretics.[2]

From the above account, it is clear that by the ninth year of the Buddha's ministry when the Kosambiya Sutta was delivered, Kosambī was a big centre of Buddhist activities, overflowing with monks and lay disciples.

The Sandaka Sutta was a discourse on false guides and the Upakkilesa Sutta was a homily against strife and disputes. "The burden of instruction of all the three discourses was almost

1. Vin, i. pp. 337–57; J. III, p. 486, Dh PA, i, p. 44, Sy NA ii, 222; Ud iv. 5.
2. Sy N, iii, p. 94.

identical, it being felt necessary by the Buddha to put repeated emphasis on those instructions to guard against false doctrines which created minor schisms among the brethren."[1]

It was, most probably, during Buddha's first visit to Kosambī that Udayana's wife Sāmāvatī was converted to Buddhism through her maid-servant Khujjuttarā.[2] The story of Māgandiyā's hostility to the Buddha and of her jealous intrigues against queen Sāmāvatī has already been dealt with. The latter's devotion to Buddhism and admiration for the Lord were taken advantage of by the former to alienate the king's affection from her. In the end, she contrived to murder her pious rival through her wily machinations.[3] During one of the Lord's visits to Kosambī, the incensed Māgandiyā had incited the people of Kosambī to hurl abuses at the Lord and torment him when he went around the city, begging for alms. Ānanda getting exasperated with this nuisance, asked the Lord to leave Kosambī but the latter refused, saying that he could not accept defeat. On the eighth day the trouble ended as the Lord had predicted.[4] Then it was that Māgandiyā satisfied her resentment by avenging herself on Sāmāvatī, his devoted disciple.

It is said in the Maj that Bodhi's mother visited Lord Buddha at the Ghoṣitārāma and dedicated her unborn child to the Lord's order.[5] Bodhi, later on, became an ardent lay supporter of Buddhism. The story of a cordial entertainment of the Buddha and his disciples in the famous Kokanada Pāsāda then built by Prince Bodhi is narrated in the Bodhirājakumāra Sutta.[6] Thus it is that Buddha who in the beginning did not enjoy any royal patronage from Udayana and his family, soon had his devotees in the royal family itself.

Of the monastic establishments of Kauśāmbī Ghoṣitārāma is the most celebrated. It is referred to countless times in the Pali literature. Piṇḍola Bhāradvāja usually resided at Ghoṣitārāma. It was also visited occasionally by Sāriputta, Mahā-

1. N. N. Ghosh : E. H. K., p. 25.
2. Dh PA, i–Udv, pp. 205–225.
3. Dh PA, Udv, pp. 201–221; Dvy XXXVI, pp. 515–544.
4. Dh PA, ii, i–Udv, pp. 211–213.
5. Maj, ii, p. 94.
6. Ibid., ii, p. 91; Vin, ii, p. 127.

kaccāyana and Upavāṇa.[1] Channa Bhikkhu for whom the Lord prescribed Brahmadaṇḍa at the time of his Parinibbāna, was an inmate of Ghoṣitārāma.[2] This very Ārāma was a favourite resort of the venerable Ānanda even after the Buddha's demise.[3]

Buddhist literature keeps us in the dark about the location of the monastic establishments with reference to the city of Kauśāmbī. It is Hieun Tsang who definitely tells us that Ghoṣitārāma was situated "outside the city on the southeast side with an Aśoka tope over 200 feet high." The Chinese pilgrim also records that "beside this tope, was a place with traces of the sitting and walking up and down of the four past Buddhas and there was another Buddha Hair and Nail tope."[4] Fortunately for us, Hieun Tsang has also left hints for the location of the remaining two Ārāmas. According to him, Kukkuṭārāma was situated in the southeast of Ghoṣitārāma. It was at the time of his visit "a twostorey building with an old brick upper chamber"[5] Pāvāriyāmbavana was situated, according to him, to the east of Ghoṣitārāma where he noticed the old foundations of a building.[6]

Earlier, when Fa-Hien visited Kauśāmbī in the 5th century A.D., Ghoṣitārāma was not only in existence but was tenanted by Buddhist priests 'mostly of the lesser vehicle.'[7] Fa-Hien calls it Ghoṣiravana which is none other than the Pali and Hieun Tsang's Ghositārāma but Fa-Hien is silent about its location.

The travel records of Hieun Tsang are entirely silent about Badarikārāma or any other monastic establishment at Kauśāmbī.

According to some of the Pali works, near Kosambī by the river was king Udena's park, the Udakavana where Ānanda

1. Sy N, V, p. 224; V, pp. 76–77.
2. Vin, ii, p. 21, 292.
3. Sy N, iii, p. 133; AN, ii, p. 82; AN, iii, p. 132; AN, iv, p. 37; Sy N, iv, p. 169.
4. Watters, Yuan Chwang, 1, p. 369.
5. Ibid., p. 370.
6. Ibid., p. 371.
7. Legge, Travels of Fa-Hien, p. 96.

and Piṇḍola Bhāradvāja preached to the women of Udena's household on two different occassions.[1]

Thus is Kauśāmbī, where Buddhism came rather late, it proved so popular with the natives that at the time of the Lord's Parinibbāna, Ānanda suggested Kauśāmbī as one of the six cities suitable for the great event because there lived many wealthy nobles, Brahmins and traders who had strong faith in the Tathāgata[2].

*Identification of Kauśāmbī*

The ancient city of Kauśāmbī has been finally located at Kosam, a village about thirty or thirty-one miles from Allahabad across the fields, 137 or 138 miles by road, above the Yamunā[3]. "It seems to have been on the north bank of the Yamunā at a point about 400 miles by road from Ujjenī and about 230 miles up stream from Benares."[4] This identification of Kauśāmbī with Kosam was first suggested by General Cunningham on the basis of the famous legend of Bakkula and the records of Hieun Tsang although there was quite some controversy about the latter[5]. Dr. Vincent A. Smith and Mr. Watters had previously raised doubts about this identification of Kauśāmbī with Kosam. According to Dr. Smith, "the site of Kauśāmbī" is to be looked for and when looked for, will be found, in one of the Native states of Baghelkhund Agency, in the valley of the Tons river and not very far from the East Indian Railway, which connects Allahabad with Jabalpur. In short, the Satnā (Sutnā) railway station marks the approxi mate position of Kauśāmbī[6]." Watters simply pointed out the difficulties in accepting either of them as reconcilable with the statements of the Chinese pilgrims, without bringing forward any new suggestions from his side[7]. But now the archaeological finds at Kauśāmbī have made the archaeologists finally

1. Vin, ii, p 270; J. IV, p. 375; SNA, ii, p. 514.
2. DN, Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta, p. 146.
3. Law : K. A. L., pp. 6–7; N. N. Ghosh : E. H. K., pp. 83–99.
4. Law : Mid-Ind. Kṣ. Tribes, p. 120.
5. A. S. R. Vol. 1, 1871, pp. 303–305.
6. J. R. A. S., 1898, p. 503.
7. Yuan Chwang, I, pp. 366–67.

conclude with General Cunningham that the present village of Kosam "stands on the actual site of the Ancient Kauśāmbi."[1]

*Layout of the city in Udayana's times*

On the basis of the excavated ruins of the ancient Kauśāmbī at Kosam, Prof. G. R. Sharma supposes that the city in Udayana's times, was enclosed by a moat, about four hundred feet wide and twenty-four feet deep. A passage was built across the moat and a number of roads were laid. On the outer side of the moat, there was a watch tower for the protection of the road and the defence of the city. The city had quite a few towers and bastions.

The city also had a rampart which was essentially a mud rampart, with its sloping sides externally rivetted with a wall which tapered to an angle of about 240 semivertical. The remains of this rampart have been excavated.

The excavations make it almost certain that the city had covered drains and ringwells in those times.[2]

*Ruins of Ghositārāma*

The excavations at Kosam, have also revealed an antiquity, very interesting from our point of view. It is the remains of Ghositārāma, the famous Buddhist monastery of Udayana's times.

Since 1951, the Allahabad University expedition has been excavating an area near the rampart on the South Eastern corner of the site where the Ghositārāma monastery could be located and its plan laid bare.

*The plan of the Ghositārāma monastery*

A number of small chapels with verandahs on the inner side and the pillars resting on stonebases enclose a huge courtyard, dominated by a massive Stūpa, roughly square in plan with doubly recessed corners. Inside the courtyard are exposed a number of smaller Stūpas, two of which have yielded relics buried in jars covered with pieces of baked bricks. On the Northern side of the courtyard, the most important foundation

1. A. G. I., p. 454.
2. Indian Archaeology : 1958-59, pp. 46-47.

is the shrine of Hārītī. Within the same area, a large number of small brick platforms or 'āsanas' for Buddha and Bodhisattva images are found.

The outer wall is a massive structure which in certain portions is as much as thirteen feet wide. Between the Southern boundary wall of the monastery and the Northern plank of the gateway, there is a passage about seventeen feet wide. A plastered wall divides the main Stūpa from an ellipsoidal Stūpa to the North of it. The analysis of traces of limeplaster which has been preserved, shows 60 percent of lime and 40 percent of sand. We may assume that all these buildings originally had the same plaster.

The main Stūpa measures about eightyone by eightyone feet. The Central area measuring twentyfour by twentyseven feet, encloses two cross walls which form four triangular brick platforms to the four sides. These triangles are packed with mud saturating with layers of brick forming what looks like regular floors. The entire packing from bottom to top contains North Black Polished ware. The tops of the cross walls possibly were keelshaped and supported the dome. The Stūpa in its original structure was square in plan with recesses at the corners which appear to be the result of later enlargements. The Stūpa was built and enlarged a number of times probably; these enlargements are clearly marked out on the plan and also in the sections. The Stūpa is provided with an elaborate system of drainage, comprising ringwells, soakage jars and covered brickbuilt drains. Both the evidences of stratigraphy as well as of the pottery from the packing in the centre of the building, show the Stūpa to have been built in the third century B.C. It might have been built by king Aśoka to whom Hieun Tsang attributes the erection of a Stūpa in the Ghoṣitārāma.

The first and the second enlargements changed the plan of the Stūpa to some extent, giving it doubly recessed corners. In the penultimate period of the monastery, the Stūpa was entirely rebuilt. This measure became necessary on account of the extensive ravages caused by the Vandalism of the Hūṇa leader Toramāṇa whose seal discovered in the course of the excavations, belongs to this period.

A small Stūpa (No. 2) rectangular in plan is to be found in the North Eastern corner of the main Stūpa. It clearly shows an outer and an inner structure. The mouldings of the inner one were coated with a thick layer of lime plaster. In this same building a relic was found.

Stūpa No. 3 situated towards the East of Stūpa No. 2, is an important structure as it constitutes a new type in Stūpa architecture. The raised path approached by a flight of steps from the Western side is formed by a number of small rubblepacked cells which also served as the Pradakṣiṇā-path. On its centre an ellipsoidal Stūpa was situated. This Stūpa clearly shows four stages of building. On the final stage, the Stūpa was enlarged towards the East.

Of all the Stūpas discovered in the monastery, Stūpa No. 4 is the only one that has been found in an almost fully preserved condition. It is nearly rectangular in plan. The characteristic feature of the architectural decoration is the moulding at the top. The Stūpa also yielded a relic. The foundations of a number of other Stūpas were also discovered but most of them were found in an extremely disturbed condition.

*The Rampart*

The Rampart shows four building periods. The earliest Rampart is pre North Black Polished ware and is therefore to be dated in a period before the sixth century B.C.

An interesting feature of the Eastern gateway of the Rampart is the existence of a curtain or a mudband that formed the base of the gateway on the Eastern side. Recent excavations have laid bare the Northern flank of the gateway built of bricks. The wall measures two hundred and sixtytwo feet in length and ranges in width from five feet six inches to five feet four inches. Besides the central passage eleven feet wide, there were two side passages also.

The excavations of the Ghositārāma, the Rampart and the Eastern gateway are still in progress and it is to be hoped that the new finds to come will throw more light on the city of Kauśāmbī in the time of king Udayana.

## CONCLUSION

In the foregoing pages we have tried to study the three different streams of the Udayana legend,—as available in the Sanskrit, Pali and Prakrit sources. This study shows that the Sanskrit version which comprehends the whole life of this king, tends to idealise real facts and contains two varying traditions viz., the Kashmirian BK version on the one side and the BKŚS and Bhāsa's version on the other. The former is prone to add fiction to facts and the information supplied there has to be accepted with caution and discernmant; it has been shown that in case of a controversy between the two, the latter tradition is generally more acceptable.

The Pali version of the legend also is comparitively and generally more true to life but like the BKŚS and Bhāsa, it does not give a systamatic account of Udayana's life and does not touch all the points connected with the various aspects of it.

The important contribution of the Prakrit legend to the story of Udayana has been shown to be in the valuable information about Pradyota's advances towards Mṛgāvatī. Apart from it, the available Prakrit data confines itself to corroborating the evidence of either the Sanskrit or the Pali legend.

As for the detailed conclusion about Udayana and his life, the evidence studied points to a legend full of romance and colour.

We know on the authority of the Pali works that Udayana was a younger contemporary of Lord Buddha and therefore he, most probably, flourished somewhere in the later half of the sixth and the early half of the fifth centuries B.C. The fact that all the relevant Pali and Prakrit works as well as most of the Sanskrit works maintain that he married Vāsavadattā, daughter of king Caṇḍa Pradyota or Pradyota Mahāsena of Avantī, supports this contention. But some controvesy about Udayana's age is caused by the Kashmirian BK tradition which maintains that Pradyota was the name of Udayana's contemporary king of Magadha. However, as all the other authorities including the BKŚS agree that Pradyota was the king of Avantī

and Darśaka the king of Magadha in Udayana's times, it seems reasonable to discredit the Kashmirian BK tradition's information about Udayana's contemporary king of Magadha.

Fortunately, all the relevant authorities agree about Udayana's being a descendant of Arjuna Pāṇḍava. His father was king Śatānīka-Parantapa of Kauśāmbī and the name of his mother was Mṛgāvatī. But it cannot be definitely said to which of the three royal families of Vaiśālī, Videha or Ayodhyā, she belonged. Almost certainly, Udayana was the only issue of his parents.

Udayana's birth took place in very romantic circumstances. His mother during her pregnancy, was mistaken for a piece of meat and consequently snatched by a huge monster bird who on realising that her prey was alive, threw her off in some distant wild hilly place. A popular Burmese tradition leads one to suppose that this place can be located at Indaing in upper Burma, two miles north of Kyaukse. It was there that Udayana was born, away from his father's palace and without his knowledge. Both the mother and the son spent about fourteen years in a hermitage there. Udayana availed himself of the opportunities present there and learnt various arts, notable among which is his expert knowledge of the 'science of elephants' and his miraculous power over them. When he became conscious of the fact that he was the heir to the king of Kauśāmbī, he went there to take hold of his hereditary sovereignty but it is debatable if he did it during his father's lifetime and whether his mother accompanied him to Kauśāmbī. However, the Jain legend makes us decide in favour of the version that Udayana accompanied by his mother, came back to Kauśāmbī during his father's lifetime as it convincingly informs us that Pradyota got enamoured of Mrgāvatī and that Udayana was still immature when Śatānīka died of acute dysentry when Pradyota marched against him to get hold of his heart's desire. It was Mrgāvatī who, through her shrewd planning, outwitted Pradyota and saved her son's sovereignty from him.

Udayana's colourful personality justifies the ancient Indian writers' interest in him. Notable traits of it are his extraordinary power over the elephants, love and knowledge of music, especially playing on the lute, excessive pride, rashness and

cruelty of nature, indifferent attitude towards religion, weakness for women and a sensuous and pleasure-loving nature which resulted in a negligent and irresponsible attitude towards his duties as the head of an important state.

To Vāsavadattā goes the main credit for inspiring writers to immortalise Udayana in ancient Indian literature. She was the daughter of king Caṇḍa Pradyota of Avantī and between the royal families of Kauśāmbī and Avantī, there existed a strong rivalry and enmity which arose out of, probably, Pradyota's old grudge against Mṛgāvatī. Therefore, he was desirous of subduing Udayana but finding it impossible to do so by open war, he had Udayana captured through the ruse of the artificial elephant. During his captivity at Ujjayinī, Udayana was appointed to teach music to Vāsavadattā and in the course of music lessons, there developed a strong affair of heart between the two. Consequently the lovers conspired together and with the help of Udayana's astute prime-minister Yaugandharāyaṇa, eloped to Kauśāmbī. There, with due pomp and show, Vāsavadattā was married to Udayana.

Shortly after this marriage, the ministers of Udayana decided to get him married to princess Padmāvatī of Magadha in order to get the alliance of her brother, king Darśaka in regaining from Āruṇi, the king of Pāñcāla, the territories of Vatsa that he had formerly snatched from Udayana's lax hands. But Vāsavadattā stood in the way of this marriage as because of her, neither Udayana nor Darśaka would consent to it. So the ministers deceived every-body in believing that Vāsavadattā had died in a fire at Lāvāṇaka. Udayana was heartbroken but was led to accept in the interests of the state, Darśaka's offer of Padmāvatī's hand. When the ousting of Āruṇi was accomplished, Vāsavadattā came out of hiding and was reunited to her husband. To her happiness, her father also made known to her and Udayana, his approval of their marriage after the latter's second marriage. Vāsavadattā later gave birth to a son who was named Naravāhanadatta.

Critical and comparitive appreciations of all the different versions of the Lāvāṇaka episode lead us to conclude that the version of the Svd is nearest to the truth.

Apart from Vāsavadattā and Padmāvatī, various legends have associated Udayana with Lalitā, Vasudatti, Viracitā, Rajanikā, Bandhumatī, Kaliṅgasenā, Priyadarśanā, Ratnāvalī, Kauśalikā, Manoramā, Sāmāvatī, Māgandiyā-Anupamā, Śrīmatī and Gopālamātā. Of these, Lalitā and Vasudatti were, most probably, mere fabrications. The authenticity of Kauśalikā and Manoramā is also debatable. Rajanikā is the BKM's commingled presentation of Bandhumatī and Viracitā. Priyadarśanā and Ratnāvalī seem only changed forms of Bandhumatī and Padmāvatī. Śrīmatī also is, probably, merely a duplicate of Sāmāvatī. Gopālamātā has been mistakenly associated with him. But Sāmāvatī, Māgandiyā, Viracitā, Bandhumatī and Kaliṅgasenā were, most probably, genuine characters in his life. Of these, Viracitā and Kaliṅgasenā were probably his harlots, of whom he must have had many more. With the other three he, most probably, contracted happy marriages. Māgandiyā is said to have manoeuvred to get Sāmāvatī burnt in a fire set to the latter's pavilion.

Striking resemblances between the stories of Sāmāvatī and Vāsavadattā and the characterizations of Padmāvatī and Māgandiyā, have tempted scholars to seek the identifications of these also but it is risky to venture it on the grounds of the available material.

Udayana played a very important role in the politics of ancient India. His political eminence is due somewhat to his noble lineage and mostly to the strategic situation of Kauśāmbī between Magadha and Avantī. Important landmarks of his political career are his acquisition of his hereditary sovereignty, his capture by Pradyota and subsequent flight from Avantī with the Āvantika princess in the bargain and his vanquishing with Darśaka's powerful alliance the usurper, Pāñcāla Āruṇi. During his reign, his suzerainty extended over the neighbouring province of Bhagga which Bodhi, his son governed in the capacity of his viceroy.

Not much can be vouchsafed about Udayana's political career after the consolidation of his position by his two matrimonial alliances with Magadha and Avantī. The Kashmirian BK tradition of his 'digvijaya' and Śrīharṣa's account of his subduing the kings of Kosala and Kaliṅga are open to doubt.

However, it can be safely accepted that to the end of his days, he fulfilled successfully his role as the king of Kauśāmbī with the help of his devoted and capable ministers, Yaugandharāyaṇa and Rumaṇvān.

About the religious beliefs of Udayana, the Buddhist claim of his conversion to Buddhism has been accepted by the scholars unquestioningly so far. But on scrutinising the various accounts of his conversion as well as other relevant Pali evidence, one is inclined to doubt the Buddhist contention. It seems probable, therefore, that as the BK tradition maintains, Udayana remained a Hindu like his forefathers, upto the end of his days. As he was engrossed in the other materialistic aspects of life, he could not but be indifferent towards religion in general. This indifference resulted in an impartiality towards all religions.

About Udayana's end, the Kashmirian BK tradition is our sole informant. But its evidence does not ring true. The fate of Kuśāmbī after Udayana's death is also uncertain. The BK tradition credits Udayana with one son from Vāsavadattā, Naravāhanadatta. The Buddhist tradition calls him Bodhi. According to the Purāṇas, Udayana's son Vahīnara succeeded him to the throne of Kauśāmbī. However, it seems more probable that after Udayana's death, the sovereignty of Kauśāmbī passed on to Gopālaka, the elder of his Āvantika brothers-in-law. But the government of Avantī also was not stable as Pālaka and Avantivardhana followed Gopālaka to the kingship in rapid succession. Vahīnara Naravāhanadatta-Bodhi, Udayana's son and heir-apparent took advantage of it and wrested his father's kingdom from the Āvantika kings. He was succeeded by three of his descendants. After these four successors of Udayana, Kauśāmbī was, most probably, swallowed by the overgrowing Nanda empire of Magadha.

Kauśāmbī, the capital of Udayana matches him in his importance in literature and history. Its existence as a city dates back to hoary antiquity and can be traced back to the time of the early Brāhmaṇas. It probably derived its name from a prince Kuśāmba who was its founder. Nicaksu, the nineteenth or the twentieth king upwards from Udayana, shifted his capital from Hastināpura to Kauśāmbī, which probably existed

as a full developed city even then. By the time Udayana came to its throne, it had become an important tradecentre because of the facilities of communication that it commanded by both land and river routes. During Udayana's reign, Buddhism was introduced into it by its merchant-class and before long, it became a very important centre of Buddhism. Ghoṣitārāma was the most famous and popular of its monasteries.

Kauśāmbī has now finally been located at Kosam, a village about 137 or 138 miles from Allahabad by road above the Yamunā. Archaeological evidence proves that it was a well-developed city in Udayana's times with covered drains and ringwells.

Ghositārāma is the only antiquity excavated so far which goes back to Udayana's times.

This is in brief the story of king Udayana as gleaned from the available Sanskrit, Pali and Prakrit sources. It has already been seen that during the long course that the Udayana legend has traversed in coming down to us from Udayana's times from where it started, it has been divided into more than one streams. The wide spans of time and space that these different streams of the original legend covered, did not leave it possible for them to preserve a uniform story. That is why we are frequently confronted with controversies about many points of the story between the different streams of the legend. This makes it impossible for us to give a final shape to the story. Loss of many valuable sources aggravates this problem of uncertainty. It is to be hoped that at present unavailable material will be restored to the scholars one day and then the story of king Udayana as it really happened, could be related to the interested audience.

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## APPENDIX 1

कदाचित्कामोऽनुत्पद्यमानः अंगलीलाक्षणात् विचेष्टितात् उपजायते । नष्टराग-प्रत्यानयने वा ततो भवति । तथा विशाखदेवकृते अभिसारिकाबन्धितके वत्सेशस्य पद्मावतीभट्टशबरीवेषाद्याचरणरूपात् लीलाचेष्टितात् कामः प्रत्याख्यातः ( प्रत्यानीतः or प्रत्याभ्यातः ? )

Abhinavabhāratī, ( Madras Government Oriental Manuscript Library ), Vol. III, Page 55.

## APPENDIX 2

क्रोधो यथा···श्री विशाखदेवकृते अभिसारिकावंचिते वत्सराजः सम्भावित-पुत्रवधार्यं पद्मावत्यै कुद्धः । तथा च अप्यधात्···

प्रदुष्टोग्रग्राहां सरितमवगाढः श्रमवशा-<br>
दुपालीनश्शाखां फलकुसुमलोभाद्विषतरोः ।<br>
फणाली······नार्भीत्युतपरिचयां क्रौर्यंनितरां<br>
विषज्वालागर्भीं चिरमुरगकन्यामनुसृतः ॥

Śrṅgāraprakāśa ( Madras Government Oriental Manuscript Library ), Volume II, Page 484.

## APPENDIX 3

असत्प्रलापस्तत्वेन हितं यन्नावगम्यते ।······मुखं प्रश्नि यथा भीमटविरचिते मनोरमावत्सराजे वत्सराजाभ्युदयाशंसी रुमण्वान् पांचालमुच्छेत्तुकामस्तस्य कृतक-भृत्यता श्रितो विश्वासोत्पादनार्थं वत्सराजान्तःपुरमादीप्य योगन्धरायणप्रमुखा-नाह·········।

"कौशाम्बी मम हस्त एव परया शक्त्या मया स्वीकृतः<br>
पंचालाधिपतिः प्रभुः स भवतां न ज्ञायते क्वाधुना ? ।<br>
नन्वादीपित एव मोहितपरानीकेन लावाणको<br>
देवी सम्प्रति रक्ष्यत्रामयमहं प्राप्तो रुमण्वान् स्वयम् ॥"

एतच्च परमार्थतः पांचालोच्छेदपरं योगन्धरायणेनावबुद्धम्,<br>
वासवदत्तया सम्भ्रकनाम्ना यौगन्धरायणानुचरेण च मौर्ख्यान्नावगतम् ।

Nāṭyadarpaṇa, Page 144.

## APPENDIX 4

मुख्यमिष्टफलं वृत्तमङ्गं प्रासंगिकं क्वचित् ।<br>
सूच्यं प्रयोज्यमभ्यूह्यमुपेक्ष्यं तच्चतुर्विधम् ॥

क्वचिदिति यत्रैव मुख्यो नेता फलसिद्धौ सहायमपेक्षते तत्रैव प्रासंगिकं, न

सर्वत्र । यथा भट्टश्रीमवनुतच्चूडाविरचितायां कोशलिकायां नाटिकायां कौशलिकाप्राप्तिमधिकृत्य प्रवृत्तस्य वत्सराजस्य न प्रासंगिकम् ।

Nāṭyadarpaṇa, Page 30.

## APPENDIX 5

……अत्रानृतादिभिः विचित्रनेपथ्यकिलिञ्जहस्तिप्रयोगमायाशिरोदर्शनादिकम् । ……उदयनचरिते किलिञ्जहस्तिप्रयोगः ।

Nāṭyadarpaṇa, Page 158.

## APPENDIX 6

तत्रास्य बहुतरव्यापिनो बहुगर्भस्वप्नायिततुल्यस्य नाट्यायितस्य उदाहरणं भट्टकविसुबन्धुनिबद्धो वासवदत्तानाट्यधाराख्यः समस्त एव प्रयोगः । तत्र हि बिन्दुसारः प्रयोज्यवस्तुन ( वस्तुनि ) उदयनचरिते सामाजिकीकृतोऽपि उदयनः वासवदत्ताचेष्टिते । एष चार्थः स्वस्मिन् सूत्ररूपके ( सर्वस्मिंस्तत्र रूपके ) दृष्टे सुज्ञानो भवति । अतिवंतत्यभयात्तु न प्रदर्शितः । एकस्तु प्रदेश उदाह्रियते । तत्र उदयने सामाजिकीकृते सूत्रधारप्रयोगः 'तव सुचरितंष जयति' इति ।

तत उदयनः "कुतो मम सुचारितानि" इति सास्र विलपति<br>
एह्यम्ब किं कटकर्पिगलवाचस्ते (?)<br>
मक्तोऽहमम्यु(स्म्यु)दयनः सुललितानीयः (सुतलालनीयः)<br>
योगन्धरायण ममानय राजपुत्री ( त्रीम् )<br>
हा हर्षरक्षित गतस्त्वमपि प्रभावः ॥<br>
तत्रैव बिन्दुसारः सामाजिकीभूतः परमार्थतामभि( मन्य )मानः<br>
"धन्या सत्वप्रलापै……श्च सति" ?

……..xiii

प्रतिहारी—(आत्मगतम्) अ अणिदपरमत्थकलने हि बि इखुदेवो इत्यादि ॥…

Abhinavabhāratī ( Madras Government Oriental Manuscripts Library ), Vol. III Page — 45.

"नाट्यायित च वासवदत्तानाट्यधारे प्रतिप प्रतिपद दृश्यते ।"

Abhinavabhāratī, ( Madras Government Oriental Manuscripts Library ), Vol. III, page 47.

"बन्ध इति परैर्ग्रहणम् । यथा वासवदत्तावृत्तवारे वत्सराजस्य ।"

Nāṭyadarpaṇa, Ch. 1, Sl. 21, page 36.

"सुबन्धु किल निष्क्रान्तः बिन्दुसारस्य बन्धनात् ।<br>
तस्यैव हृदयं बद्ध्वा वत्सराज……………॥"

Avantisundarī ( Madras Government Library, Triennial Catalogue, 1919–22 ) R. 3454 Page 5150.

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